

**ON FRENCH BORROWING AS A LEXICAL CHOICE
IN MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION:
A HISTORICO-SEMANTIC APPROACH**

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ABSTRACT

The present study begins as a survey of previous studies in French borrowing in Middle English, and thereby the related works on the multilingual situation in medieval England and bilingualism. As the survey proceeds, a new perspective to approach this subject emerges: French borrowing as a lexical choice in the context of translation into Middle English from a historico-semantic perspective. The study then proceeds with the first thirty stanzas of *Amis and Amilioun* as a text case to explore the possible areas for future work on this subject in the context of written translation, in particular semantic blocking, synonymy, collocation and the long-neglected 'resistance' against borrowing.

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Chapter I PRELIMINARIES

1.1 Background

I wish to discuss French borrowing in Middle English, though I am aware that some scholars are already tired of it. There is by now well over a century's scholarship on this subject.

We may group this profusion of works into two kinds: specific and general.

1.1.1 Specific studies

The first group by definition focuses on a specific author or a set of texts. Early works are often alphabetical lists of loans such as Remus (1906) on Chaucer, Faltenbacher (1907) on Caxton, Reismüller (1911) on Lydgate and so on. Such lists have continued to be compiled, though recent works such as Caluwé-Dor (1983) are certainly more methodical, and focused on a particular topic rather than a mere collection of loans. There is also a subgroup among these works that is a mixture of literary and linguistic investigations. Clough's (1985) 'French influence on literary conception' is certainly a quality mixture of this kind. But many of these works such as Örsi (2005) tend to be more literary than linguistic.

1.1.2 General studies

The other group comprises studies that are on a broader textual basis. Jespersen (1905) and Serjeantson (1935) are the names every student of French borrowing will know. Their works provided a framework from which scholars later developed into two mainstream approaches to this subject. Jespersen (1905) was known as the first account of statistical chronology¹, followed by Bödtker (1909), Baugh (1935), Mossé (1943) and more recently Dekeyser (1986). Serjeantson (1935) also organised her

¹ cf Mossé, F. (1943: 33)

findings chronologically, but instead of numbers and figures, she opted for sorting bags. Her *Sachfeld* model was soon incorporated by later works into the *Wortfeld* of Trier (1931; cited in Dalton-Puffer 1996: 10) and then within the framework of lexical semantics such as Aertsen's (1987) PLAY field. To this list we may also add Prins (1941-2), who approached French borrowing from a much neglected but no less important angle: the loss and substitution of words in Middle English.

1.2 The way forward

My list may be quite long for an introduction, but I have to make my point: the amount of work that has been done on this subject is daunting. It is perhaps unsurprising that some serious scholars such as Dalton-Puffer (1996: 1) have come to believe that nothing of interest could come out of it any more. But to conclude from here that the subject has been exhausted is to ignore the over two hundred French loans that have been recorded over the signature of no less a scholar than William Rothwell (1979, 80, 91, 92, 93, 96a, 98a, 98b). All these examples testify to the facts that (a) the conduit of French borrowing into Middle English and (b) the mechanism involved were far from being properly understood. The question of whether we have reached the road's end could only be answered *after* having attempted these questions: (i) What is French borrowing? (ii) How should we approach the subject given the nature of this linguistic phenomenon and the data available to us? (iii) Is this approach exactly the same as what has been done in previous studies? To this last question, the fact that I propose the present study should be indicative of my answer: 'certainly not'. The reasons of course lie in my answers to the first two questions. I shall explain my position by way of answering the first question, so that in the course of defining our subject matter some general answers to the second question would emerge. On the basis of these answers, I will then be able to decide *how*, now that it is my turn, I

should steer my path.

Chapter II DEFINITIONS

2.1 French borrowing

2.1.1 Definitions: French

What is French borrowing? There are two sub-questions to this: What is *French*? And what is *borrowing*? I will begin with *French*.

2.1.1.1 Old French? Continental French? Central French?

No doubt, by *French* scholars mean the source language that provides the models for borrowing in Middle English. So the real question that is being asked is: to *which* variety of linguistic forms and usages does this source *French* refer? In this case we will have to turn to the etymology section in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.² The *French* that *OED* most frequently cites is ‘Old French’³. But this is entirely unhelpful to the question ‘which *French*’. The term ‘Old French’ can be used to cover all the varieties of the French language used in the period of 842 to 1350 (e.g. Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1989: 341-65; cited in Lodge 1993: 10). Some French historians restrict themselves to the continental varieties (Lodge 1993: 7-12, 28; Lodge himself is an example). But for many other French historians such as Paris (1935: xxxv; cited in De Jong 1996: 56) and Pope (1934: 424)⁴, there is a *real* ‘Old French’ and it refers to *Francien*⁵, the variety used in the region around Paris. So we must ask specifically to which French authorities *OED* has turned. According to Durkin (1999: 14-5), the previous two editions of *OED* primarily relied on *Littre*,⁶ *Godefroy*⁷ and Diez

² The online *Oxford English Dictionary*: <http://dictionary.oed.com/>; *OED* for short hereafter.

³ The same goes for the online *Middle English Dictionary*: <http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/med/>; *MED* for short hereafter. But on this issue of ‘Old French’, since I have not been able to find any relevant articles on the etymology section of *MED*, I refrain from discussing it here.

⁴ This belief is indirectly indicated in her claim that Anglo-French ‘gradually became... a “faus franceis d’Angleterre”.’

⁵ The term is coined by nineteenth century linguists according to Chaurand, J. (1983). Pour l’histoire du mot “francien”; cited in Lodge (1993: 97).

⁶ Littré, E. (1863–72, 81). *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. Paris: Hachette.

⁷ Godefroy, F. (1880-1902). *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française, et de tous ses dialectes du IXe*

(19853).⁸ The preoccupation of these French historians was primarily ‘Central Old French’, that is *Francien* in the older periods (Durkin 1999: 15; see also Rothwell 1991, 93, 98a). What this means with regard to *French borrowing* is that the source language for many of the French loans in Middle English is hypothesized to be Central French. But if we recall the received wisdom that the group of speakers that physically brought *French* into medieval England were ‘Normans’,⁹ then this hypothesis of Central French immediately demands qualifications. As Rothwell (1991: 173) has so rightly remarked, there is a dimension missing in this hypothesis of *French*.

2.1.1.2 ‘Norman’: no

But this dimension is not simply an anglicised version of ‘Norman’ as the commonly used term ‘Anglo-Norman’ would suggest. To begin with, William the Conqueror had brought with him an army that consisted in addition to Normans, ‘many Bretons who spoke their own non-Latin language, a large contingent from Picardy and even farther up the coast’ (Rothwell 1998a: 150). Even within the Norman section, it is highly unlikely that the ‘nobles, high-ranking ecclesiastics and peasants turned soldiers would have shared a common speech form.’ (Rothwell 1998a: 150) The sources were varied from the start. As time progressed, the conquerors gradually merged with the English people in marriage, trade and many departments of daily intercourse. At the same time, there was frequent exchange between France and England as well as the importation of French civilization throughout the medieval period. The body of varying forms and usages of *French*, not unaffected by the forms

au XVe siècle. Paris : F. Vieweg.

⁸ Diez, F. (1853). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*. 5th ed. (1887). Bonn: Adolph Marcus.

⁹ See for instance Serjeantson (1935: 104-5), and a generalization of scholarly opinions in Burnley (1992: 426)

of French spoken on the continent (notoriously Central French and Picard according to Burnley 1992: 423) and certainly influenced by English, was then the language of trade, culture, government and religion, and used ‘by all manner of people from dissimilar ethnic backgrounds’ with varying linguistic competence (Rothwell: Introduction to *AND*). Neither the speakers nor the forms were entirely or even mainly ‘Norman’.

2.1.1.3 The extra dimension: ‘Anglo-French’

So I will follow Rothwell (Introduction to *AND*) and a few scholars like Weekley and use ‘Anglo-French’ as a cover term for the whole body of linguistic forms and usages that was used in medieval England between 1066 and mid-fifteenth century (definition: Introduction to *AND*). In other words, Anglo-French includes the forms and usages that are affected by Continental French and those that are virtually indistinguishable from say Central French –this variety was after all part of Continental French in its origins¹⁰. It shares with other Old French varieties some common stock of French. Anglo-French is therefore only an extra dimension of *French*. We must resort, as Durkin (1999: 15) has suggested, to both continental and insular sources to approach the problem of source language.

2.1.1.4 Which *French* form(s) and which *French* usage(s)

But task of taking into account one extra dimension of *French* involves much more than turning to the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*¹¹ in addition to continental sources for borrowing. Each borrowed lexical item is a union of form and meaning.

¹⁰ Many scholars, such as Trotter, D. (2000: 198), have noted that in the earlier periods, the Anglo-French used in imaginative literature was in many respects ‘simply a lightly dialectalized version of literary Old French’.

¹¹ The online *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*: <http://www.anglo-norman.net/>; *AND* for short hereafter.

These two aspects can be influenced by two different sources or more. The lesson that we have all learned from Rothwell (esp. 1991, 92) is that there are many varying forms for the borrowed word, and often these forms are undistinguishable from the continental ones, and yet the profound influence of Anglo-French on many of these words can be seen on the morphological and semantic levels.

But still, this is not all. The question of *French* is further complicated by the fact that the source(s) for the form and usage of one instance of borrowing is (are) not necessarily the same for another instance. The items that are listed in dictionaries are ‘lexemes’ (Lyons 1977: 18-24), an abstraction of the different instances of usage for an item in different contexts. The question of *French* must be asked in the analysis of every *instance* of borrowing: (Q1) what form of *which French* and what usage of *which French* did the English borrow?

2.2 Definitions: borrowing

2.2.1 Action and products

So next: what is *borrowing*? This time if we will turn to the *OED* for definitions, we’ll find an important clue under *borrowing*: (a) the action of the verb BORROW, taking on loan... etc.; also (b) *concr[ete]*, that which is borrowed. In other words, there are two senses of *borrowing*: the action of BORROW and the products of this action. Scholars use this term for both of these senses quite freely, but in their analysis, what they always focus on is the second sense, the products. The results they obtained, as we have witnessed, are alphabetic lists, numbers and sorting bags. But how can we study the action *per se*? While in modern times it might be possible on extremely rare occasions to catch a speaker in the actual process of an original borrowing, for historical studies, we don’t even have a speaker to catch. But we have writers. Though long deceased, their products are nonetheless indicative of the action of borrowing.

Any attempt to study French borrowing as a whole must also seek understanding of the mechanism that produces the products.

2.2.2 ‘Borrowing’ and ‘loan’

The first sense of *borrowing* is the second aspect that must be addressed in any study of French borrowing. To do so, we need a definition for the first and for the sake of clarity, another term for the second. ‘Loan’ is ready at hand¹². In the present study, each ‘loan’ is an ‘instance’ of the ‘lexeme’ in question. As to the definition, we need one that casts light on this first sense of ‘action’. I will borrow the definition of Haugen (1950: 59): *borrowing* is ‘the attempted reproduction in one language of [the] patterns previously found in another’. The action can be immediately formalised into two logical steps: 1) some ‘patterns’ in a language other than his own were learned by a borrower, and 2) this borrower attempts to reproduce these ‘patterns’ in his language (or some other). Now who is this ‘borrower’?

2.2.3 The borrower

The ‘borrower’ Haugen (1950: 59) had in mind was a *speaker*, the process therefore a phenomenon of the *spoken* language. But all that historical studies have, once again, are *written texts*. They are the primary evidence for *written* language. It is impossible to simply cut Haugen’s definition from the theoretical model in which *borrowing* is defined and paste it here. We must look further at the wider research context and adapt from this model an approach practicable for historical studies. That context is bilingualism. This is the third aspect we must address: the theoretical underpinnings of bilingualism.

¹² See the *OED* definition of *borrowing* quoted above.

2.2.4 Time, space and social milieu

But I have not finished with the ‘borrower’. Our ‘borrower’ is a writer, a linguistic witness of his written language. He too is a language user, who once lived and composed his written pieces in a society within certain confines of time and space. Although we can never be exact, we can at least look for the linguistic information that is and is not available within these confines and hypothesize about the possible linguistic knowledge our borrower possesses. We should then ask: (Q2) Who is this witness that we wish to investigate? (Q3) What are his temporal, spatial and social confines? (Q4) What was the linguistic situation that he witnessed? Only after having these questions answered, can we proceed to cast light on the information that he might have used and the factors that are likely to influence how he attempted the reproduction. The word ‘attempted’ is important. Not only is it indicative of the fact that borrowing is essentially an effort the borrower tries to make, but also of the (likely) possibility that the pattern on which a loan is modelled may differ from the product resulted. They may vary on different linguistic levels in degrees of resemblance, between speakers, in different instances, linguistic contexts, and at different times and places. Any analysis of borrowing must also ask this fifth question: (Q5) To what extent and in what ways does the loan resemble its model¹³?

¹³ The term ‘model’ is again, borrowed from Haugen (1950: 59)

Chapter III INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 French borrowing as a lexical choice in Middle English translation

3.1.1 Choice, semantics and translation

I wish to study French borrowing as a lexical choice in the context of translation into Middle English. The allusion to ‘lexical’ studies is unmistakable. The unit of analysis will be lexical items, and the linguistic level semantics. The difficult word is ‘choice’. It at once presupposes the act of choosing as well as the options to be chosen¹⁴. I am alluding of course to the two senses of *borrowing* I have spoken of above. Borrowing is a choice. It is an act of choosing from among the options available to the borrower and attempting to reproduce a copy of the model that he has chosen. For a lexical study, the options to be chosen are synonyms of the loans in question. On the semantic level, what the borrower attempts to reproduce is thus the range of senses of a model. It is for this reason that I propose a translation as a linguistic witness. For any Middle English translator, what must have happened during the process of translation is that he had before him one or more source text, written in a variety or often a combination of different forms of French, and he had to find the ‘intended effect [*intention*]’ of the source text and produce ‘an echo of the original’ in English (Benjamin 1923: 19-20). If this *echo* takes the form of a lexical item, then the corresponding item that is found in the source text can with reason be assumed to be the model for the loan. The contexts in which the model and the loan occur could then be paired up as a correspondence set, and compared between the semantic information that is intended in the source text and that which is produced in the translation.

¹⁴ cf *OED* sub ‘choice’ senses 1a and 5a

3.1.2 Degrees of ‘match’

But even though many Middle English translations are filled with loans, not all of these items can be found in their (extant) source texts, and at least some of them are found in contexts that are different from those in the source. The task of translator is seldom seen as a word-for-word rendition from the original into the target language (cf Ford 2000: 11-13, and Burnley 1989). This was especially not the case in medieval England. ‘It was, with certain limits... even encouraged for the translator to redevelop the story’ in their own language and even materials outside of the text (Ford 2000: 13). This immediately calls to mind a multitude of examples in which a plausible model is used in the source text, but it is not used in the translation, either because (a) another loan, (b) a hybrid or (c) native synonym is used instead.

The complexities involved are yet to be explored, but my point is made: even if a loan is used, the perfect set of model and loan that we seek may not be there at all. A slavish translation would greatly increase our chances, but what we will be looking at would then be some ‘abnormal’ behaviour. Slavishness is by no means the norm in Middle English translation or in the process of borrowing¹⁵. If we are to understand borrowing as a *natural* linguistic phenomenon, then we must also assess these ‘imperfect’ sets that are the natural products of ‘normal’ behaviour. I will therefore use a ‘normal’ translation text, *Amis and Amiloun*.

3.2 The present study

Of the four extant Middle English manuscripts¹⁶ of *Amis and Amiloun*, previous scholarship has established that the version contained in the Auchinleck manuscript (a1330; cf Leach 1937: xc) resembles most closely the French original. There are two

¹⁵ See reference Rothwell (1979, 80) and Burnley (1989) above for detailed discussions in support to this claim that borrowing is by no means a mechanical (or in my words ‘slavish’) process.

¹⁶ The other three are Harley 2386 (f.131r), Douce 326 (f.1r) and Egerton 2862 (f.135r) versions.

French versions. One of them is written in Continental French¹⁷ and the other Anglo-French. The ME version clearly resembles the AF version more than the CF one. Of the three extant manuscripts of the AF group¹⁸, the ME text most closely resembles the Karlsruhe version¹⁹. But the Karlsruhe manuscript is dated the second half of the fourteenth century –a date later than that of the Auchinleck. The Karlsruhe manuscript itself could not have been the original or exemplar for our surviving ME version. As for the other two AF texts which resemble the Auchinleck text even less, it is more unlikely that they represent the original exemplar. In the absence of the original, the closest possible version is probably the best choice for comparison. For the parts in which the two versions show unmistakable signs of correspondence, we may assume that the AF parts represent a later copy of the original text from which the ME text was translated. Therefore in spite of the problem of dating, I will use the Auchinleck and Karlsruhe versions which are reproduced in the online *Auchinleck Manuscript*²⁰ and Ford (2000)²¹ for the translation and the original texts respectively²².

Because of the vastness of the topic and the confines of the present study, I must limit myself to the first 30 stanzas of *Amis and Amiloun*²³. For such a short stretch of text, it will not even be possible to draw any firm conclusions about the text as a whole (not to mention any claims more general than that). But where it cannot be

¹⁷ MS 860 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale (f.93-111); reproduced and edited by Dembowski, P. (1969). *Ami et Amile: chanson de geste*. Classiques Françaises du Moyen Âge 97. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion

¹⁸ The other two are Cambridge 50 (f. 94b-102a) and British Museum MS Royal xii (fol. 69a-76b)

¹⁹ Ducal Library of Karlsruhe, Codes Durlac 38, fol. 52-61. Second half 14thC.

²⁰ eds David Burnley and Alison Wiggins: <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/mss/amiloun.html>

²¹ Ford, J. (2001). Appendix: pp175-82.

²² There is a practical reason for which I use Ford (2000)'s version: The only other alternative is Kölbing, E. (1884). *Amis and Amiloun*, Altenglische Bibliothek, vol. II (Heilbronn: Henninger). The only two copies in Britain that I know of are housed in the British Library and Oxford University, but both of the libraries refused to lend the copies out.

²³ And for a practical reason: Ford (2000) has only reproduced the first 275 lines of Karlsruhe (in its entirety, not as extracts included in his discussion). If I were to conduct a study any more extensive than the first thirty stanzas of ME *Amis and Amiloun*, I would have to use the London version of the AF text. This is highly undesirable for a translation study.

exhaustive, I hope the discussion will be suggestive of the possible areas in which future work could explore.

Chapter IV LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 On French borrowing in Middle English

4.1.1 A comment

‘In dealing with the question of lexical borrowing between two languages, scholars have tended to view it as a general phenomenon, paying perhaps insufficient attention to a detailed analysis of the *actual material borrowed at different periods* and to the *factors* involved in the borrowing process.’ (Rothwell 1979: 287) [my italics]

4.1.2 Alphabetic lists, numbers, sorting bags and catalogues

The comment of Rothwell does not only apply to the studies on French borrowing in Middle English before the eighties, but also to recent works as well. General studies in particular, namely loan lists, statistics and *Sachfeld*²⁴, tend to focus on the ‘products’ and neglect the process itself. Specific studies on literary conception place greater emphasis on the process, and yet the discussion on French lexical influence often concludes as a catalogue of examples according to the types of borrowing: namely, loans, calques, hybrids and semantic loans (under each of these categories is normally included a discussion of literary effects). The contexts in which the borrowed items occur have little to do with the way the data are categorised in these studies. The fact that these items are there in the language is explained either as ‘a straightforward filling of [lexical] gaps ... or else as the mark of a desire for [linguistic] prestige.’ (Rothwell 1980: 118; cf Ullmann 1951: 101, cited in Rothwell)

4.1.3 Lexical gaps and linguistic prestige

I certainly agree that lexical gap-filling and linguistic prestige are factors

²⁴ See also the references in Chapter I

affecting the process of borrowing. The latter is a well-established motivation for borrowing in sociolinguistics. And being one mechanism of lexical innovation, lexical gap-filling is of course one of the factors motivating lexical borrowing. But these factors cover only the motivation for borrowing, they have not told us anything about why it might be resisted. The resistance against borrowing is another aspect that I wish to address in the present study. (see section 5.2.1.2.3 below)

Even if we are to restrict ourselves to the motivation-side, neither of these notions is adequate to cover all cases of borrowing. A few examples will make my point: Before the loans (*to*) *glorify*, *praise* & *extol*, there was Old English *wuldrian*; before *rule* & *direct*, OE *gewissian*; before *counsel*, *ponder*, *consider* & *deliberate*, OE *þeahhtian*, and so on (examples from Prins 1941: 283). Lexical gap-filling is not an issue when there is an exact lexical substitution available. As to linguistic prestige, it is true that these are all legal terms, and no doubt, belong to the lexical domain associated with the ‘Normans’, and (as the theory goes) ‘thus’ confer linguistic prestige. But how about the highest ranking of this ruling hierarchy, *king* and *queen*? The titles *lord* and *lady*²⁵? It is not wrong for linguists to quote from Sir Walter Scott’s *Ivanhoe*²⁶ to instantiate the theory of linguistic prestige²⁷. But if we apply the notion of linguistic prestige to explain the borrowing of *beef*, *mutton*, *pork*, *bacon* and *braun*, then we will be puzzled at *lamb*, *duck*, *swan* and *hare*, which were also served as food for the Norman lords. (examples from Rothwell 1979: 294) Linguistic

²⁵ As remarked by numerous scholars before me, even those who supported this theory of linguistic prestige such as Jespersen (1905: 85)

²⁶ *Ivanhoe* (P.10) as in Jespersen (1905: 89)

²⁷ (even though the point Sir Walter Scott was trying to make was a contrast between the lives of the upper and lower classes led: the Saxons had to tend the sheep, calves, etc, while the Norman lords were served mutton, veal, etc. Hughes’s *Words in Time* (1989: 5) did not miss this point. But it is truly surprising that he quoted this passage as a description of the social situation in medieval England and later concluded (1989: 44) that there was a ‘strong cultural separation between the conqueror and conquered’. A claim that is perplexing in face of the testimonies of the merging of the the two races such as *Dialogus de Scaccario* (1176-77) cited in Rothwell 1978: 1078; see Kibbee 1991: 19-21 for a detailed discussion)

prestige cannot explain why there is no record of French *agneau* and *canard* (for the food) in *MED* and why the Normans ate *swan* and *hare* as well as *signet* and *leveret*²⁸. There must be some other factors at work in the process of borrowing, whose precise effects vary in different instances²⁹. The notions of lexical gap-filling and linguistic prestige are too generalised an explanation for lexical borrowing.

4.1.4 Substitutes and synonyms

Prins' (1941-2) approach to the loss and substitution of words has much potential to break away from this over-generalisation of lexical borrowing. The products of borrowing were not lumped together into lists or bags and explained by some general notions. He chose about ten items from the studies³⁰ he had reviewed and looked into the contexts (at different times) in which they occurred and studied how their synonyms gradually took over from them the senses these items bore. Borrowing for him was part of the 'struggle for life between [the loan and] synonyms of English origin'³¹ (Prins 1941: 281). This is exactly the premise I should start with if I am to study borrowing as a 'choice'. But I will have to part ways with him shortly afterwards. Having pointed out that this process was much more complex than the substitution of one word for another (Prins 1942: 56), he concluded three pages later that some factors such as homonymy should be 'guarded with extreme caution' and that social causes had much bearing on the loss and adoption of words. And yet many

²⁸ *MED* sub *signet* and *leveret*.

²⁹ In fact, Jespersen (1905: 89) has suggested that the importation of these items can also be explained by the importation of French cuisine into medieval England. Although nothing definite can be said about this since I have not done any research based on this hypothesis, the context and the lexical domain in which these items are placed are certainly a better place to begin with for a study of the borrowing of these loans than some general notion of linguistic prestige.

³⁰ Mainly from: Offe, J. (1908). *Das Aussterben alter Verba und ihr Ersatz im Verlaufe der englischen Sprachgeschichte*. Diss. Kiel; and Oberdörffer, W. (1908). *Das Aussterben altenglischer Adjektive und ihr Ersatz im Verlaufe der englischen Sprachgeschichte*. Diss. Kiel.

³¹ I do not think the origin of the synonyms is a precondition for them to join this competition. Any synonyms can.

of the social factors he pinpointed can be quite nicely summarised under ‘linguistic prestige’ (Prins 1942:57-8).

4.1.5 William Rothwell (1979, 80, 91, 92, 93, 96a, 98a, 98b)

Though I will start with Prins’ (1941: 281) premise of the competition between synonyms, I will focus on borrowing *per se*. This process does not necessarily lead to a substitution of words. And the complexities involved in the loss and adoption of words as well as borrowing were studied less than satisfactorily. I need an approach that allows me to study borrowing as process and cast light on the complexities of it. This is where I return to Rothwell (1979: 287; Section 4.1.1 above): a close examination of the ‘actual material borrowed at different periods’ and the ‘factors’ involved in the process.

4.1.5.1 ‘Actual material borrowed at different periods’

By ‘actual material’, Rothwell (1979) means the ‘substance’ that was carried by these items from one language into another. If we then follow the footsteps in his analysis on the semantic level (Rothwell 1979, 91, 93, 98a), we will find that among the over two hundred French loans he recorded, there is often apparent discrepancy between the semantic content of the loans and their ‘models’. Such apparent discrepancy may be caused by different semantic developments in English and French, but it may also result from using the wrong models. The lexical domain of law contains ‘literally hundreds of terms whose meaning and/or form is different from that found in continental Old French’ such as *abet*, *assault*, *battery*, *impeachment*, *suit*, *try* and *trial*, *vicinage*, *vicarage*, *void* and *waste*, etc. (Rothwell 1991: 183-4) All the legal senses of these terms are recorded in *AND* before or at round about the same time of the first attestation of these loans in Middle English. By way of comparing the ranges

of senses and their dating in Continental French, Anglo-French and Middle English, we can locate the right models. And by this comparison of the ranges of senses, we can begin to analyse the extent to which and in what ways the senses of the models are reproduced by the loans –a solution to both of the first and fifth questions that we have raised. Such comparison of actual semantic ‘material’ provides the key both to the investigation of the conduit of French borrowing and also to the mechanism involved.

4.1.5.2 Conduit and mechanism

But the ‘conduit’ Rothwell (1992: 31) referred to was the language through which most French loans passed into English, thus Anglo-French. The study in which he made this reference was English etymology, both the source of a loan and its subsequent development. There is, however, a more precise ‘conduit’ of borrowing for the present investigation, namely, the context of translation. There is no guarantee that the borrowing which takes place within this context is an original borrowing. Actually, the loan that is used in the translation text is most likely to have existed in English beforehand³². The choice of this loan is probably as much a borrowing as a usage of an ‘English’ stock. For this reason, a translation text has little to offer to the question of the source of a loan. But it is precisely for this reason that the context of translation has much to tell us about the mechanism involved –from the point of view of English as a linguistic system, the borrowing of a loan is neither done overnight nor finished by a single individual. There must have taken place more than one instance of ‘original’ borrowing as well as numerous ‘secondary’ ones (under which I include tertiary, quaternary... and so forth) until the point when the loan is (at least from the

³² Given the time of the translation (c1250-1330); These loans are, in Weinreich’s words, ‘inherited’ to the borrower in question. (Weinreich 1953: 11)

perspective of the ‘loan’-user in question) no longer felt to be foreign (cf Weinreich 1953: 11). It is the mechanism of ‘secondary’ borrowing for which a translation text has primary evidence to offer³³: the loans inherited by the borrower in his variety of English and their models in the system of French that he knows –all evidenced within a specific context.

4.1.5.3 ‘Factors involved in the borrowing process’

I will have to adapt this ‘detailed analysis of the actual material’ for a study of the mechanism involved in ‘secondary’ borrowing³⁴. Rothwell (1979: 190) has listed five factors that must be taken into account in his approach:

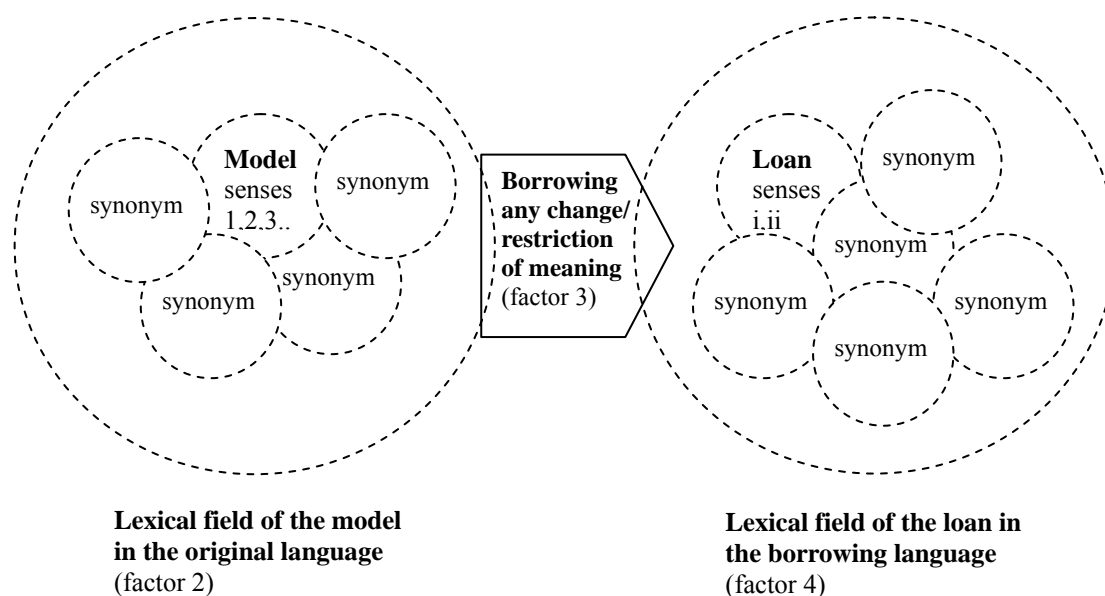
1. the form in which the foreign term is borrowed
2. its range of meaning in the original language
3. any change or restriction of meaning it undergoes in its passage into the new language
4. its relationship to any native terms of similar sense
5. any morphological development it undergoes

The first and the last factors are not immediately relevant to a semantic analysis apart from identifying the models in question. The present study will focus on the other three. If we look more closely at these factors, the first two precisely involve an analysis of the two logical steps of borrowing I formalised in section 2.1.2.2, while the third factor involves the resulting products that are reproduced. A diagram constructed according to the order of these three factors can visually summarise the mechanism Rothwell (1979: 190) spoke of:

³³ This is the assumption, unless the loan in question happens to be the first attestation in *MED* or *OED*. Even so, I do not think this borrowing is necessarily an original one. Without pursuing this point further due to a lack of space, suffice to say that when in doubt, we can always exclude the examples that happen to be the first attestations in dictionaries.

³⁴ Unless otherwise specified, ‘borrowing’ in this study will always refer to ‘secondary’ borrowing.

Figure 1



The graphic labelled ‘lexical field of the loan in the borrowing language’ is a representation of factor 4 above. I have extended this idea and added in the graphic labelled ‘lexical field of the model in the original language’ added the elements of synonyms to factor 2 –with which I believe Rothwell (1979: 190) will not disagree. It is after all received wisdom that words cannot be studied in isolation (Aitchison 2004: 8). The fact that there is much overlap between synonyms is yet another piece of received wisdom. The parts of Figure 1 for which an explanation is necessary are the dotted lines, the different positions the model and loan occupy in their lexical field and the different numbers of synonyms³⁵. The dotted lines are meant to represent, quite literally, that there is no hard-and-fast boundary of the semantic space each word and the lexical field as a whole occupy. The senses a word bears can easily change at the expense of the words which occur in its neighbouring area. The different positions

³⁵ There is another part which may need some explanation, but may also be too trivial a point to be included in the discussion. So I note here that the different fonts (1,2,3 vs i,ii) and numbers (three vs two) for the senses covered by the model and loan are meant to represent ‘any change and restriction of the meaning’ after the loan is borrowed into the borrowing language. Quite needless to say, these numbers are not to be taken literally and the change of meaning cannot always be quantified. Later development of a loan in the borrowing language is not represented in Figure 1.

the loan and the model occupy are meant to show that relations between the synonyms are not necessarily the same between two linguistic systems. And there are, of course, not necessarily the same numbers of synonyms in different systems.

If we look again at Figure 1 as a whole and proceed from left to right, then what this graphic represents is not only Rothwell's three factors, but also 'the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language' (Weinreich 1953:1). We are looking at borrowing as one form of 'interference' here. I will have to resort to the theoretical underpinnings of borrowing.

4.2 On Bilingualism

4.2.1 Interference

'Interference' is a linguistic phenomenon that results from the practice of one person alternately using two languages. (Weinreich 1953:1) Such practice is termed 'bilingualism'. Interference is therefore a product of two languages in contact within one single mind. Any factors that possibly affect this phenomenon regulate interference 'through the mediation of individual speakers.' (Weinreich 1953:1) For each interference that has successfully penetrated within a group of speakers (which may include the monolingual individuals at a given point in time), there must have been, as I have mentioned (section 4.1.5.2), instances of 'original' and 'secondary' borrowing among the bilingual community, both of which will involve a 'diffusion, persistence and evanescence' of the loan in question (Weinreich 1953: 3). The 'secondary' borrowing in Middle English that I study is as much an instance of interference within the single head of a bilingual as a *reinforcement* of a particular

lexical item in a linguistic system,³⁶ *and* the usage of a native stock as we have established in section 4.1.5.2. The role an instance of ‘secondary’ borrowing plays is threefold.

4.2.2 Factors affecting the interference phenomenon

But the complexities that are involved in this interference phenomenon in the present study are of a different kind from those Weinreich (1953) suggested. The borrower, as I have said, is a writer *and* a translator. Specific to the context of written translation, there are in front of our borrower two texts and thereby two sets of lexis neatly defined as ‘French’ and ‘English’. For him to use a loan that has its model right in front of his eyes is not the same for a bilingual who uses a loan spontaneously in a speech situation³⁷. In the case of ‘original’ borrowing from the source text³⁸, the role the visible and contextualised model plays in borrowing cannot be assumed to be the same as that which is taken from memory in a speech situation. Even if we limit ourselves to ‘secondary’ borrowing in the context of translation, it is different for a translator to borrow directly from the source text and to use a loan that is different from the model he has in front of his eyes. I therefore categorise these into two types of ‘secondary’ borrowing within the context of translation: the ‘perfect set’ that I spoke of in section 3.1.1, and the second Type II(a) in section 3.1.2.

To this context of translation between written languages, many factors that Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1950) suggested, such as the borrower’s ability to keep his two languages apart, are not immediately applicable. For those that are applicable to written languages, they can be grouped into two kinds: intra- and

³⁶ cf Weinreich (1953: 3) on the incorporation of a loan within a linguistic system.

³⁷ The latter is the specific linguistic context that is central to Weinreich’s (1953) model.

³⁸ That is, a translator borrows a loan that is not, from his point of view, inherited to him as part of the English stock. This is to be distinguished from the perception and from an awareness of the foreignness of a word.

extra-linguistic factors.

4.2.2.1 Intra-linguistic factors

For Weinreich (1953), each instance of borrowing potentially³⁹ involves ‘the reorganization of all the old distinctive oppositions of the system’ (Vogt 1948).⁴⁰ So the structural factors are to be sought in the two systems of ‘oppositions’ that are known to the borrower. The factors that he listed can be adequately covered by Rothwell’s three factors (1979: 190) in section 4.1.5.3.

4.2.2.2 Extra-linguistic factors

What we have not discussed so far are the extra-linguistic factors. These factors ‘are derived from the contact of the system with the outer world, from given individuals’ familiarity with the system, and from the symbolic value which the system as a whole is capable of acquiring and the emotions it can evoke.’ (Weinreich 1953: 5) We can further subdivide these two factors of ‘familiarity’ and ‘emotions’ into five subfactors which are of immediate relevance to the context of written translation (Weinreich 1953: 3-4):

- a. the borrower’s manner of learning each language;
- b. the borrower’s relative proficiency in each language;
- c. the borrower’s specialization in the use of each language by topics;
- d. the borrower’s attitude toward each language; and
- e. the borrower’s attitude toward bilingualism as such.

Now, once again, the first question that springs to mind is ‘who is this

³⁹ ‘Potentially’ because he remarked in the same page that at least for *some* areas in the lexicon, it necessarily involved such ‘rearrangement of pattern’.

⁴⁰ Vogt, H. Dans quelles conditions et dans quelles limites peut s’exercer sur le système morphologique d’une langue l’action du système morphologique d’une autre langue? In *International Congress of Linguists* 6 (231). pp. 31-45, quote recited in Weinreich (1953:1).

“borrower”?’ We return to the second, third and fourth questions that we have raised above. But this time we have this list of factors and a specific text in hand, we can begin answering these questions and thereby prepare the ground for the other two in a ‘detailed analysis of the actual material’ in *Amis and Amiloun*.

Chapter V THE BORROWER AND HIS MULTILINGUAL ENGLAND

5.1 The borrower in question

5.1.1 Question (2): Who is the borrower?

The borrower in the present study is the translator of the version of *Amis and Amiloun* contained in the Auchinleck manuscript. His exact identity is unsurprisingly unknown. I will call him Translator A.

5.1.1.1 Manner of learning each language

Translator A was by definition literate and bilingual (or even trilingual –literate in Latin). But there is no concrete evidence for which we can determine which was his first language. In fact, the matter of first language may even be complicated if we consider the possibility of bilingual acquisition in childhood (Romaine 1995: 181-203). The latter was not an unlikely possibility in medieval England (see e.g. Wilson 1943 for this claim; esp. 54-60). So we cannot say with certainty anything about the spoken mode of his two languages.

5.1.1.2 Relative proficiency and specialization in the use of each language

But in terms of the written mode, we can say that given that he was a translator, his command of written Anglo-French must be more than a mere reading knowledge. It is impossible to tell his AF proficiency in the domains apart from imaginative literature since no Anglo-French survives in his hand. But we can say that he must be highly familiar with the genre of imaginative literature in both AF and ME contexts, for many of his adaptations would not have been possible otherwise, such as expanding ‘addubbez’ (AF line 76) into ‘hors & wepen’ (ME line 112) and then

paraphrasing ‘Tut lur addubbez e lur atour/ Lur trove, en quanque lur apent’⁴¹ (AF line 76-77) into ‘He dubbed boþe þo bernes bold/ To kniſtes in þat tide/ & fond hem al þat hem was nede/ Hors & wepen & worþly wede.’ (ME line 112-15); or contracting and turning ‘or ou argent’ into ‘powere’, and strengthening the tone as he paraphrased ‘E tant cum mei dure or ou argent/ Ne vus faudrai ne dotez mie’⁴² (AF line 150-51) into ‘& wiþ al mi powere of mi lond/ Y schal wreke þe of þat dede.’ (ME 187-88)

Actually, we can say with certainty that Translator A was highly proficient in literary Middle English, for the simple fact of his artistic qualities in the ME poem as witnessed above, and the more direct evidence such as using as many as eleven romance clichés in a stretch of some three hundred lines: ‘comly of kende’ (line 58), ‘proude in pride’ (line 68), in ‘gest as-so we rede’ (line 92), ‘war & wiſt’ (line 93), ‘bernes bold’ (line 112), ‘(in)tour & toun’ (line 122), ‘douhtiest in eueri dede’ (line 126), ‘hende on hond’ (line 167), ‘send þi sond’ (line 186), ‘sorwe (& wo) & sikeing sare’ (line 205), ‘(Noiþer for) wele no wo’ (line 320), etc.

5.1.2 Question (3): What were the temporal, spatial and social confines that we can ascribe to the borrower and his work?

5.1.2.1 Temporal confines

5.1.2.1.1 The Auchinleck manuscript

To say any more than this about Translator A, we need to turn to the other few clues we have. The most immediate source is the Auchinleck manuscript.

Most scholars believe that the Auchinleck text is dated no later than 1330 (Leach 1937: xc), while the editors of the online *Auchinleck Manuscript* push it further back

⁴¹ All of their arms, their attire, [the king] finds them all that is necessary to them. [my translation]

⁴² And as long as [my] gold and silver [i.e. wealth] endures, you wouldn’t fear at all. [my translation]

to the end of the thirteenth century⁴³. But these dates refer to the scribal language contained in the manuscript, not the translator's language. Leach has convincingly demonstrated with the correspondences between the four extant manuscripts and scribal errors that the Auchinleck text itself could not have been the original text of Translator A (Leach 1937: xcvi-xcvii). So between Scribe A(uchinleck) and Translator A, there may have been different scribes copying the text so that Scribe A may not have copied the actual text that Translator A produced. Neither Leach (1937) nor Wiggins (2003)⁴⁴ have noted any scribal peculiarities that would allow them to estimate the possible number of intermediary copies in between Scribe A and Translator A. Translator A must have composed his work some time before 1330⁴⁵, but he may also have done so much earlier than that⁴⁶.

5.1.2.1.2 The demand for English works

The next question is then: how much earlier? We must not forget that a translation from French into English would hardly have been produced if the contemporary polite society did not desire English works⁴⁷. I cannot of course say with any certainty how great this demand was, especially in view of the fact that the debate on bilingualism in medieval England is still raging in spite of a(nother) century's scholarship⁴⁸. It will suffice to note for now that (a) in spite of all these debates, (Anglo-)French as the principal literary language during the thirteenth

⁴³ <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/mss/amiloun.html>

⁴⁴ the online *Auchinleck Manuscript*

⁴⁵ The date c1300 that Wiggins (the online Auchinleck editor) has established is from this perspective a closer approximate to the actual date of translation. But I also need a latest possible date as the *terminus ad quem* to the temporal confines so as to filter out linguistic information that was not available to Translator A. For this purpose, I will use the year of 1330.

⁴⁶ The Karlsruhe version that I am using is reproduced in a PhD thesis. Ford (2000) has not commented on the intermediary copies between the original and the Karlsruhe text.

⁴⁷ cf Ian Short (1992) esp. p.231-2; also Baugh, A. & Malone, K (1967). esp. p.174.

⁴⁸ See Kibbee (1991: 1-4) for a summary.

century is beyond dispute (Wilson 1943: 40)⁴⁹; and (b) of the genre of romances, there is only one text that can be dated with certainty earlier than 1250 (Baugh 1967: 142, 174). Bearing the demand of English works in mind, the translation was unlikely to have been produced before mid-thirteenth century. The years 1250 and 1330 can be assumed as the temporal confines of the translation. The linguistic information that had already become obsolete by early thirteenth century or did not become available till mid-fourteenth century could be regarded as unavailable to Translator A.

5.1.2.2 Spatial confines

As for spatial confines, I can however say hardly more than: the context for the text is medieval England. Scholars generally agree that the text was composed in the East Midlands⁵⁰. But what ‘East Midlands’ implies is that this body of forms and usages is associated *not* with West Midlands, *not* further south, and *not* to the north of England, but with this area in between them. ‘East Midlands’ is meaningful only when placed within the system of distinctions that gives it its name. And the basis of this system of distinctions is the *orthographic* forms different *scribes* used across the country. But I am attempting a study of the *translator’s* language on the *semantic* level. Before there are research tools on word geography that cover the whole of medieval England available⁵¹, a label such as ‘East Midlands’ is likely to be more misleading than illuminating. I shall refrain from narrowing down the spatial confines

⁴⁹ I am not saying that English did not have a role to play. *Ancrene Riwe* and Layamon’s *Brut* are names of literary works for this period any Middle English students will know and which clearly continue native writing traditions. And yet the English literary production was much less prolific than its French counterpart, and at least some of these works clearly demonstrate French literary influence, for instance, in the adoption of rhymed as opposed to alliterative verse. Anglo-French was the ‘*principal* literary language’ (Kibbee 1991: 18).

⁵⁰ See again the online *Auchinleck Manuscript*.

⁵¹ But there are certainly ongoing research projects on word geography in Middle English. See for instance Carrillo L. & Garrido, E. (2007) ‘Middle English Lexical Distributions: Two Instances from the Lay Folks Catechism’. In G. Mazzon (ed.), *Studies in Middle English forms and Meanings*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt. pp. 85-100.; and Carrillo, L. & Garrido, A. (forthcoming, 2008) ‘Middle English Word Geography: Methodology and Applications Illustrated’. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (14 ICEHL)*, University of Bergamo, 21-25 August 2006.

any further than ‘medieval England’, though I do not deny, for I feel strongly, the fascination of dialectal study on the lexical level.

5.1.2.3 Scribal and translator’s languages

There is still the problem of scribal and translator’s languages. The bilingual translator is the locus of the process that I attempt to study. We must ask: how and to what extent can we assume the Auchinleck text reflecting the translator’s language on the lexical level?

It is an established fact that medieval scribes often changed the spelling of their exemplars to match their own preferred orthography. Scribal tendency to change lexical items is much more difficult to establish. If we follow the typology established in Benskin & Laing (1981: 56), we can assume that *literatim* copyists would be unlikely to make changes to the lexical items. As to the other two types of scribes that do make changes in the course of copying, the parts that they change will become different from the language of the original translator of the French text (i.e. Translator A for the present study). The more changes that are made from copy to copy, the more different the language will likely become from the translator’s language and thereby the original French text. So for the parts of the ME text that closely resemble the French original, we can assume that the lexical choices which show clear French interference belong to Translator A.

5.2 Multilingualism in England

5.2.1 Question (4): What was the linguistic situation that the borrower witnessed?

5.2.1.1 Social confines

Now, we have established that Translator A belonged to the (multi-/ or at least) bilingual literate class some time during the period of 1250 and 1330. And from the

ME adaptations of the AF original and the romance clichés in the Auchinleck text, we have also made inferences about his linguistic proficiency in the domain of literary works. There are two more items left in Weinreich’s list of extra-linguistic factors (section 4.2.2.2), namely, Translator A’s attitude toward each language and bilingualism. For these two items, we turn to the linguistic situation that Translator A had witnessed.

5.2.1.2 Multilingualism

For a description of this literate class, ‘multilingual’ is no doubt the word⁵². I am following the many scholars before me, using this word in its loose, generic sense –it does not necessarily be the case that every single member of this class was multilingual, proficient in both spoken and written modes, in any use of the languages and so forth, but knowing three languages was certainly the norm (cf Gracia 2000: 24-6)⁵³. I will cite from Gracia (2000: 24) a table which may summarise, though inevitably at once simplify, this multilingual situation in what she called the ‘early Middle Ages’ (between the Conquest and thirteenth century, see Gracia 2000: 25):

Table 5.1

Language	Register	Medium	Status
LATIN	Formal-official	Written	High
FRENCH	Formal-official	Written/spoken	High
ENGLISH	Informal-colloquial	spoken	Low

⁵² Among the many scholars who now use ‘multilingualism’ for this period of medieval England, I give but a few more frequently cited names: Hunt (2000), Weiner (2000) and Trotter (2000b).

⁵³ The matter of debate lies of course in the degree of multi- or bilingualism. But nearly all of the classics that I have turned to, such as Vising (1923), Pope (1934), Wilson (1943), and more up-to-dated works such as Legge (1963) and Short (1980), almost entirely focus on the spoken mode. I therefore refrain from discussing these classics.

5.2.1.3 On English

5.2.1.3.1 From the Conquest to the twelfth century

We need qualification on the medium of English at once. It is perhaps unfair to assume that by this table Gracia was implying that English had ceased to be written at all⁵⁴. But table 5.1 certainly fails to cast light on the fact that writing in English never completely ceased after the Conquest. Old English texts continued to be copied in religious centres for well over a hundred years (Laing 1993: 2). Judging from the quantities and types of the extant early ME manuscripts, it is however probably true that ‘there was very little new composition in English within this century, apart from a few additions to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It was not until the late twelfth century that new writings in English began to appear in quantity.’ (Laing 1993: 2)

5.2.1.3.2 From the thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries

But the same can certainly not be said of our period (c1250-1330). Written English must have begun to gain ground (since we know from history that it would become the literary language in Britain) at the expense of (Anglo-)French in the literary genre as our period approached –the translation could not have been produced otherwise. As Kibbee (1991: 38) has reminded us, for the fourteenth century, we have only evidence for fourteen new AF literary works, while the amount of extant English literature was much greater than that of the previous century. So at least in the literary genre, our period can be marked as the beginning of change from this simplified

⁵⁴ In addition to the English literature I remarked in note 49, it will also be of interest to note that there were certain AF translations from English during this period of ‘early Middle Ages’, such as *Estorie des Engleis* and *Jeu d’Adam* (cf Legge 1963: 7-43). They clearly indicate a continued English writing tradition. And judging from the fact that the targeted audience of these works must be the French-speaking upper class, English works, the traditions and culture behind, were clearly not perceived among the reading community of these works as ‘low’ as a simple diglossic model could suggest.

version of diglossia⁵⁵, but the ‘high’ status of French in Gracia’s table certainly holds true in the wider context of English society as a whole⁵⁶.

5.2.1.4 On French

5.2.1.4.1 A ‘language of record’

In fact, Anglo-French was, as Clanchy (1979)⁵⁷ has so brilliantly demonstrated, a ‘language of record’ in which from the late twelfth century onwards, laws, royal decrees, petitions, business transactions and historical events of all kinds were increasingly recorded. The language was the medium through which the ‘various aspects of the machinery of government, at both national and municipal level[s]’ functioned (Rothwell: Introduction to *AND*) in medieval England. And it remained so as well as in ecclesiastical circles until the fifteenth century. The long list of extant AF manuscripts listed in *AND* and Dean (2000)’s 894⁵⁸ entries for the secular and religious literature will suffice to bear witness to these roles of Anglo-French. Though for completeness’ sake, I add the areas of medicine⁵⁹ and architecture, after the monumental works of Hunt (1990)’s *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England* and Salzman (1952)’s *Building in England down to 1540. A documentary history*.

5.2.1.4.2 The language of literature

Anglo-French was of course also the language of imaginative literature⁶⁰. The

⁵⁵ On the model of diglossia, see Trotter (2000b) for a denser, yet more sophisticated treatment.

⁵⁶ I cannot include Latin in the discussion here for a lack of space. It will suffice for my purposes to note that Latin was the ‘high’ language predominantly used for written purposes in the domain of administration and religion throughout the ME period. see Blake, N. (1992b). esp. P.5.

⁵⁷ Clanchy, M. (1979). esp. pp160-163.

⁵⁸ I have excluded the 92 entries on lyrics, romance and *lais & fabliaux* here and grouped them under imaginative literature for later discussion in section 5.2.1.4.2.

⁵⁹ There are 35 entries listed in Dean 2000 that also fall into this area, but they also belong to the category of secular literature.

⁶⁰ (and instruction in later periods, see Kibbee 1991 for a very detailed exposition on the teaching

profusion of these AF works began in the first century after the Conquest and continued well into the thirteenth century. For this century alone, Vising (1923: 53-66) has listed forty-three saints' lives, twenty-seven collections of religious poetry, four romances, eight fabliaux, forty collections of secular poetry and twenty-two satirical pieces.

5.2.1.4.3 Linguistic prestige

And let us not forget that medieval England was the neighbour of a powerful France just across the Channel, with which its links endured even the loss of Normandy in 1204. There was an abundance of written correspondence between the two countries throughout the medieval period. In the private domain, M.D. Legge alone edited some four hundred letters from within the English society; while on the national level, there was for instance the stream of correspondence produced by successive London mayors in the fourteenth century. And there was of course the importation of French civilization. I cite but the area of natural sciences as an example. The earliest record could be traced back to 1119 (or even 1113) in the treatise of Philippe de Thaon, then for instance *La Petite Philosophie* in the early thirteenth century, and *Hereford World Map*, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines* and so on into the fourteenth century.⁶¹

The linguistic prestige of French in medieval England, for both the insular and continental varieties, was assured. English remained to a large extent the language of the populace. Written Anglo-French was for those who aspired to social prestige a prerequisite.

materials of Anglo-French (and in Anglo-French) at different periods in medieval England)
⁶¹ All texts and figures quoted above are reproduced from Rothwell's Introduction to *AND*.

5.2.1.5 The cultural context

5.2.1.5.1 Translation from the prestigious French into the popular English

Within this diglossic society, a translation from French into English in medieval England would involve, as Burnley (1989: 42) has so neatly summarised, ‘popularization’ –an ‘adaptation to a new audience of less sophisticated tastes’ or even a ‘cultural descent’. Although a translator of a new verse romance would resort to his ‘own cultural world’ for linguistic resources (as witnessed in the adaptations and romance clichés cited in section 5.1.1.2), writing for an audience ‘whose social aspirations exceeded their skills in French’ (Burnley 1989: 42) would mean that French elements in the translation text were to a certain extent desirable. And the mechanism of borrowing was of course one way to enrich English lexis as is evidenced in the abundance of loans it now contains⁶².

5.2.1.5.2 French loans

But this by no means implies a deliberate policy of elevation in style by means of borrowing. Actually, English literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was characterised by a paucity of French loans when compared to the later works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Blake 1992c: 516-17). Most of the loans in these pieces such as *King Horn* and *Sir Orfeo* were commonly used words such as *layes*, *auentours* and *meruailes* (Blake 1992c: 515-16). Even though ‘close translation’ began to appear in the later ME periods, it was by no means the norm (Burnley 1989: 440). Translation was often considered as an art of adaptation (see Ford 2000: 7-15 for a summary on the attitude towards translation in medieval England).

⁶² See e.g. Dekeyser (1986) for some statistics and Gracia 2000 for the diversity of sources.

5.2.1.5.3 French borrowing for Translator A

What this means for Translator A (and translators of romances in England before the fourteenth century) is that the use of French loans was indeed desirable for its linguistic prestige, and yet the task of translation itself provided a strong motivation for him to resort to English resources. This would act as a resistance and enter into competition with the motivating force for borrowing which were governed by factors that were also involved in the task of translation. I wait for actual examples in my study for further discussion.

I conclude for now that, at least for Translator A, borrowing was a real choice.

Chapter VI *AMIS AND AMILIOUN: A TEST CASE*

6.1 The poetic context

Before we can begin with our ‘analysis proper’ on borrowing as a choice, we have to consider two more factors that are specific to the poetic context within which the translation of *Amis and Amiloun*, and thereby lexical choices, are made.

6.1.1 Rhyme and metre

The general pattern of the verse is typical of ME romances: twelve-line tail-rhyme stanza, iambic four-stress couplets alternating with one iambic three-stress line, and rhyming *aabaabccbddb*. Each stanza generally functions as a ‘narrative unit, with a transitional opening, a development and a conclusion’ (Leach 1937: xcix). The three-stress lines often have the special function of ‘fillers’, to ‘round out a period’ and ‘to furnish the final rhyme’, but the lines are run-on or broken as the material demands (Leach 1937: xcix).

The iambic stress pattern (and to a lesser extent syllabification) and rhyme are then two more items we need to add to the list of factors involved in Translator’s borrowing.

6.2 Types of lexical choice

Finally, we turn to the ‘detailed analysis’ of borrowing as a lexical choice using this test case of *Amis and Amilioun*. I begin with the type of borrowing in which Translator A reproduced a loan whose model was also present in the original text.

6.2.1 Type I –perfect sets

Of the first thirty stanzas of ME *Amis and Amiloun*, I have been able to find six instances in this type. They are *court* (ME line 62; AF line 25), *botelere* (ME line 136,

AF line 85), *fest* (ME line 45, AF line 78), *sir* (ME line 135; AF line 85), *felonie* (ME line 164; AF line 105) and *envie* (ME line 161, AF line 104).

6.2.1.1 *court*, *botelere* and *fest*

Semantically, *court*, *botelere* and *fest* in the ME text are very close reproductions of their loans. *Fest* unambiguously refers to FEAST⁶³, *court* ‘the RESIDENCE (of the duke)’, and *botelere* ‘the BUTLER, the chief officer in charge of the duke’s wine (and its supplies and importation) and the cupbearer’.

Table 6.1

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
45	þat riche douke his fest gan hold	78	Grand honur lur feste tient ⁶⁴
62	In court þai schuld abide	25-6	Qui ala court Charlis estoyent E pur lur armes le seruoyent ⁶⁵
135-6	Sir Amis as Še may here He made his chef botelere	85	Fait de syre Amys sun boteler ⁶⁶

6.2.1.2 *sir*

But the same cannot be said of the other three cases. I begin with *sir*.

Table 6.2

135-6	Sir Amis as Še may here He made his chef botelere,	85	Fait de syre Amys sun boteler
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Although both of these two instances of *sir* are used as an honorific title, the ranking they denote is different: ME *sir* in this case as in general was applied to ‘one of the order of KNIGHTHOOD; also used for nobility and royalty, as members of the

⁶³ For the sake of clarity, I will use capital letters for senses (as is done in *OED*’s definition quoted in section 2.2.1. If the sense in question cannot be defined with one word, I will use single quotes for the whole phrase and capitalise the headword. Any ME and AF senses quoted in this discussion, unless otherwise specified, will be drawn from *MED* and *AND* respectively.

⁶⁴ [The king] holds their feast in great honour. [my translation]

⁶⁵ Who in Charles’ court stayed, and by their weapons served him. [my translation]

⁶⁶ [The king] makes Sir Amis his butler. [my translation]

same order [notably BARONS]’; AF *sire* was however generally used for nobles of a higher rank. This immediately brings us to the complex system of titles involving these items in the two languages. I cite but one more etymologically closely related item, *seigneur*,⁶⁷ for a semantic comparison between these items in ME and AF systems⁶⁸:

Table 6.3 AF system of *sire* and *seignur*

AF <i>sire</i>	AF <i>seignur</i>
	(1) lord; and as (as title) lord, king (2) feudal superior; landlord; (3) owner (4) <i>nostre sire/ seignur</i> : Our Lord, Christ
(5) <i>li Sire(s)</i> : God (6) the best (7) <i>sire en lei, ~ des leis</i> : judge	(8) elder, (9) patriarch; (10) senior; (11) husband;

⁶⁷ *Le Robert* has also made reference to: *monsieur*. OF *mounsire* (& *misire*) and *munseignur* were commonly rendered as *min+sir*; *min+seignour* (and *min +lord*). *MED* interprets these cases as possessif+person (sub *min* sense 2c). These items did not follow the development of OF *mon+seigneur*, etc and become a lexical item as in ModF *monsieur* (whose ModE equivalent is *mister*; etymologically < OF *mester*). ModE *monsieur* and *monseigneur*, according to *OED*, are later borrowing in the sixteenth century as a *lexical unit*.

⁶⁸ A systematic study of the borrowing AF, OF *sire* must begin with an exhaustive account of the system of titles in AF, OF and ME, for which regrettably, the time that is available to me does not allow.

Table 6.4 ME system of *lord*, *sir* and *seignour*

ME <i>lord</i>	ME <i>sir</i>	ME <i>seignour</i>
	(1) A ruler, king, overlord (2) a lord (3) social superior (in some general use) (4) God	
(5) as title/appellation for Eng. king; a feudal lord; nobleman of the rank of duke, marquis, earl, or knight; saints, the pope, bishops, etc. appellation for; (6) master of servants/ a household/ husband; (7) <i>oure~</i> :Our Lord, God; (8) owner/patron (9) ?a father (10) A deity, divine being; (11) governor; (12) ~ <i>juge</i> : a judge (13) teacher.	(5) as title to knights or nobility of the same order; priests, clergymen; (6) master of a household; husband; (7) <i>our sir</i> : master of our household; usu. my husband (8) owner/patron (9) father	(5) a respectful term (primarily secular) (7) <i>oure~</i> :Our Lord, God; (9) a forefather, an ancestor (14) <i>pl.</i> the twenty-four elders of the Old and New Testaments who appear in the Apocalypse;

Even a casual glance at table 6.4 will notice that there is much overlap between all three of these items. If we look at sense (5) in table 6.4, in spite of the semantic overlap, ME *lord* is clearly associated with the highest ranks of the court. Thus AF *sire* (cf sense (1) in table 6.3) as a title is semantically closer to ME *lord* instead of ME *sir*. If we also look at ME *seignour*, as a title it was used with an even more restricted sense than its AF model and ME *lord* and *sir* (namely, ‘primarily SECULAR’ sense (5) in table 6.4). Whether the semantic difference between AF *syre* and ME *sir*

had crossed Translator A's mind in the process of borrowing verges on speculation, but if we recall that ME *lord* was derived from OE *hlaford* LORD (king, master, feudal lord, husband, God)⁶⁹, then what must have happened when AF *sire* was borrowed into Middle English as a title, was that it was introduced as a synonym for and driven by OE *hlaford* to occupy (mainly) the semantic space of SIR, denoting the lower ranks of the nobility (while the loan *seignour* as a title was driven to an even more specialized sense). There is some kind of semantic 'blocking' inherent to the system of the borrower's language that can be invoked in the process of borrowing, such that 'actual material' of a loan that is reproduced may be different from that of its model.⁷⁰

6.2.1.3 *felonie*

But 'blocking' is of course only one possible factor involved in the process of borrowing. Semantics are context-determined. I will turn to ME *felonie* for a discussion on this factor.

⁶⁹ according to *OED*

⁷⁰ Actually, there is much more to comment on, such as the interesting fact that some AF collocations such as *nostre sire/ seignur* 'Our Lord, CHRIST' became differentiated when they entered into ME as *our sir*: 'MASTER of our household; usu. my HUSBAND' and *oure seignour* 'Our Lord, GOD'. Once again, this is evidence for the change of the semantic overlap between two lexical items.

Table 6.5

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
153 -64	<p>þan hadde þe douke, ich vnderstond, A chef steward of alle his lond, A douhti kniſt at crie, þat euer he proued wiþ niþe & ond For to haue brouſt hem boþe to schond Wiþ gile & trecherie. For þai were so gode & hende & for þe douke was so wele her frende He hadde þerof gret envie; To þe douke wiþ wordes grame Euer he proued to don hem schame Wiþ wel gret felonie.</p>	94- 106	<p>Le rei les hath mout cher tenus Si lur mustre si grand amur Dount se coroucent li plusur Si tenent entre euz si fort envie De la tre fine compaygnye Si l'enpleient durement E li senechaus nomement Sur touz autres lesguayte⁷¹ hounte Il les surquert a tele envie Que tote manere felounye Que unques compasser savoyt A ce ij chiualers fesoyt⁷²</p>

If we focus on the two items *envie* and *felonie*, the first thing that we will notice is that in the AF text ‘Il les surquert a tele **envie**/Que tote manere **felounye**/Que unques compasser savoyt/A ce ij chiualers fesoyt’ must be read as a unit of its own, and so the two items belong to this single unit; while in the ME text, *envie* and *felonie* belong to two different units. So *felonie* is reproduced within a different context.

If we translate the rest of the sentence that contains AF *felounye* --‘He attacks them enthusiastically with all kinds of *felounye* that [he] knows [how] to devise [and] carry [them] out against the two knights,’ [my translation] –then AF *felounye* here

⁷¹ According to *AND* ‘lesguayte’ is to be read as ‘les guayte’, that is, ‘them’ + ‘lies in wait’. But I do not wish to edit the text on my own. So I have retained ‘lesguayte’, the form given in the unedited version of Karlsruhe in Ford (2000: Appendix p.176)

⁷² The king has held them in high esteem, showing them such great love that many become angry [about it] and have among them great envy of the very fine friendship, ‘embroil’ it fiercely [i.e. plant dissension and even hostility between Amis and Amiloun, and between the two and the king], and the steward namely, above all others lies in wait to shame them. He attacks them enthusiastically with all kinds of wicked acts that he ever knows [how] to devise against these two knights. [my translation]

most certainly refers to ‘wicked ACTS’. But I do not think the same can be said of ME *felonie*, at least not with the same degree of certainty. The syntactic structure of ‘To þe douke wiþ wordes grame/ Euer he proued to don hem schame/ Wiþ wel gret felonie’ does not reject the reading of ‘wicked acts’ for ME *felonie*⁷³. But the *felonie*-phrase is the concluding line of the stanza – ‘Þat euer he proued wiþ niþe & ond/ For to haue broušt hem boþe to schond/ Wiþ gile & trecherie... He hadde þerof gret envie/ To þe douke wiþ wordes grame/ Euer he proued to don hem schame/ Wiþ wel gret felonie’ – as a concluding remark to the ill-will, evil intention, envie, treachery and wicked acts the steward has in mind. WICKEDNESS, the ‘QUALITY/STATE of being wicked’ seems to be a more appropriate gloss than ‘wicked ACTS’. Even if one does not submit to the reading of WICKEDNESS for ME *felonie*, it cannot be denied that the loan lacks the clarity its model *felounye* has in the AF context. There is in addition to the factor of the semantic system of the borrowing language, the context in which a loan is reproduced may also affect the actual material that is reproduced.

I will now further explore these two factors with the last example of this Type I: *envie*.

6.2.1.4 *envie*

I have translated the AF ‘a tele envie’ (line 103; see table 6.5) as ‘enthusiastically’ in note 72 above. The phrase is an idiomatic expression that should not be broken into parts for a ‘sum’ of their meaning, and yet for a semantic analysis, I must assign a lexical meaning to AF *envie*. I will take it from ‘enthusiastically’ and gloss it as ‘ENTHUSIASM (fuelled by some evil energy)’. If however we turn to the ME text (line 159-61; see table 6.5): ‘For þai were so gode & hende/ & for þe douke was

⁷³ (One may even argue that given the syntactic structure and the rhyme of ‘wiþ wel gret felonie,’ the phrase is meant to be a parallelism to ‘wiþ gile & trecherie,’ and *felonie* should be read on a par as *gile* & *trecherie*, and thus ‘deceitful acts, etc’.)

so wele her frende/ He hadde þerof gret *envie*,’ the most appropriate gloss is certainly ‘ENVY, jealousy.’⁷⁴ From Translator A’s point of view, he had in front of him an AF model *envie* with the sense ENTHUSIASM which had already existed in Middle English according to *OED* (a1300; sub *envy* sense⁷⁵). So he must have chosen to reproduce *envie* in the ME text and yet with a sense different from that of the AF model within a different syntactic structure. And this sense that he chose, ‘ill-will, ENVY’ had also existed in the system (*MED* sub *envie* sense (1) ILL-WILL, HATRED, etc (c.1280); (2) ENVY, GRUDGE (c.1300)). The connection from one sense to another of the same lexical item is not hard to understand. But this connection is precisely the evidence that what are essentially two words in two languages can be connected in the bilingual’s head by means of the similarity of forms. The boundary between two languages on the semantic level can become so much more blurred in the head of a bilingual than say that between two ‘dialects’ on a linguistic map. And the fact that we have witnessed in this case of *envie*, and *sir* and *felonie* above –a loan is reproduced with a sense different from that of its model –is clear evidence that the reproduction of a lexical item (in at least secondary borrowing) cannot be dismissed as a simplistic cut and paste. ‘Imperfect copies’ like these three cases are of especial value in casting light on the possible factors that lead to these ‘imperfect’ cases and the mechanism involved.

⁷⁴ I have also considered the possibility of reading *envie* as ‘DESIRE, eagerness’ and read these four lines as a whole: ‘He hadde þerof gret *envie*/ To þe douke wiþ wordes grame/ Euer he proued to don hem schame/ Wiþ wel gret *felonie*.’ And yet if we also take the preceding two lines into consideration: ‘For þai were so gode & hende/ & for þe douke was so wele her frende’ which are clearly causal and the adverb ‘þerof’ which refers back to the reasons stated before this line, then grouping ‘He hadde þerof gret *envie*’ with them is a much more natural reading. ‘Envie’ in this case will have to refer to ‘ENVY, jealousy’.

⁷⁵ *MED* has this curious date c1400 for exactly the same line of the same manuscript *OED* quoted for the date a1300 –the Trinity manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*. It seems to me the reasons are that the date *OED* gives is the conjectured date of composition while that one *MED* gives is the date of the scribal copy. For the purposes of my analysis, I use the earliest possible date.

6.2.1.5 An ‘imperfect’ copy

The next question is then: how do we analyse these imperfect copies? I will use the case of *envie* (ME line 161, AF line 104) above as a text case. If we compare *envie* with the ‘perfect’ cases of *fest*, *court* and *botelere* in Table 6.1, we will notice that the syntactic structures of the ME translations ‘his fest gan hold’, ‘in court’ and ‘his chef botelere’ are very similar to their AF sources: ‘lur feste tient’, ‘ala court’, and ‘sun boteler’; while ‘he hadde þerof gret envie’ is clearly different from its source ‘a tele envie’ syntactically. So formally, the semantic ‘imperfectness’ of *envie* is associated with a syntactic difference between the ME and AF structures this loan and its model are placed. This immediately invites these questions: why does Translator A reproduce *envie* with ENVY but not ENTHUSIASM of the AF model? Why does he attempt such reproduction within a different syntactic structure? As I have mentioned, I wish to further explore the two factors of semantic ‘blocking’ and the bearing of syntax on the semantics of a loan. The questions above should then be paraphrased as: *Could* he reproduce the sense of ENTHUSIASM in a structure similar to the one in which the AF loan occurs? Is the sense ENTHUSIASM possible in the structure ‘hadde therof gret envie’ in which he reproduced the loan or is the sense ENVY the only possibility? Did Translator A have any other lexical choices for the sense ENVY?

To this last question, there is as we have noted at the beginning of the chapter, an extra set of constraints that would limit the choices Translator A had. We need to first consider the matter of rhyme and metre.

6.2.1.5.1 Possible choices for ENVY

If we turn to the *Historical Thesaurus of English*⁷⁶, then we will find that within the same lexical field, there are six synonyms for the concept ENVY namely, *æfestung*,

⁷⁶ <http://libra.englant.arts.gla.ac.uk/historicalthesaurus/>; *HTE* for short hereafter.

elnung, *ofþanc*, *evest*, *nip* and *anda*. For the first three items, according to *MED* (and for the latter two *OED*), they would probably have become obsolete by the time of the translation (c1250-1330). *Evest* is possible, since *HTE* has dated the item until a1300. If we look more closely at the ‘actual material’ and turn to Bosworth-Toller⁷⁷, it is evident that the range of senses *evest* covered, namely, ‘ENVY, SPITE, ENMITY, ZEAL, RIVALRY, EMULATION’, was being taken over in the ME period by *envie* among the items suggested in the definitions: *spite*, *enmity* and *zeal*⁷⁸. The other possible choices for ENVY that were available during the period of translation were therefore *nip* and *anda*.

6.2.1.5.2 The rhyme in question

Now, even if we consider the matter of rhyme of this stanza alone, the choice between *envie*, *nip* and *anda* is quite beyond question: *crie/trecherie/[choice]/felonie*⁷⁹. Unless Translator A restructured the rhyme or opted for some other sense, we can conclude that ME *envie* for ENVY was an appealing choice within this poetic context.

6.2.1.5.3 ‘at such envie’

So could he reproduce *envie* with another sense? The first possibility to consider is a literal translation of the AF ‘a tele envie’, namely ‘at such envie’. There is no such collocation recorded in *MED* and *OED*. There is not even a record of ‘at (such/gret) envie’ in the *Middle English Compendium*.⁸⁰ This is not to say that this construction is impossible or it is impossible for *envie* in ‘at such envie’ to bear the

⁷⁷ Bosworth-Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* sub *evest*

⁷⁸ (all dated a1300 according to *OED*)

⁷⁹ The choice of *nip* would be even more undesirable in terms of metre.

⁸⁰ There is of course, always the possibility that this is simply the result of a lack of attestation. Even if we grant that possibility, there is no guarantee that the collocation would mean ‘enthusiastically’.

sense ENTHUSIASM. But if we consider the fact that there is no such record even in a corpus of 146 pieces of prose and verse, then we can at least conclude that there is no evidence showing this structure would strike as a ‘natural/normal’ rendition within the ME system.

Even if Translator A were to use ‘at such envie’ for the same line 161, then ‘He hadde þerof’ could not be used. If he were to translate literally from the AF line 103 ‘Il les surquert a tele envie’, then he would have to change at least the previous two lines ‘For þai were so gode & hende/& for þe douke was so wele her frende’ (ME line 159-60) in order to accommodate the meaning conveyed by the AF line: ‘he attacks them enthusiastically’. Neither from the point of view of the ME system nor that of Translator A could we say ‘at such envie’ for ENTHUSIASTICALLY was an appealing choice.

6.2.1.5.4 ‘haven envie of’

It all then comes down to the last possibility: could Translator A reproduce *envie* with some other sense in the structure ‘He hadde therof gret envie’? The phrase is clearly an instance of ‘haven envie of’. Neither *OED* nor *MED* has singled out the phrase ‘have envie of’ as a collocation. But both dictionaries have recorded that *have* often collocated with *envie* during the ME period, and ascribed to the latter the sense ‘ILL-WILL, envy’. The preposition that follows *envie* could be ‘to... occas. ...at, of, ayaines’ according to *MED* (sub *envie* n. sense 2a). Prins (1952), on the other hand, has singled out ‘to have envy of’ as a phrase and ascribed its model as OF ‘avoir envie de’⁸¹. The meaning ascribed to *envie* is roughly the same as above, but Prins has left us a curious note for further work: ‘The OF phrase has two senses (CHAGRIN, HAINE; GRAND DÉsir), the E. phrase only one. *Have envy* may well be based on OE

⁸¹ He has used the modern French forms for these OF words.

andan habban; the preposition *of*, however, is likely to be due to OF.’ (Prins 1952: 146) Now, if we believe Prins’ hypothesis then what this means to us is that the within the structure ‘haven envie of’ there is only one possible sense and that is ENVY, and this sense is only one of the two senses of the French model that has entered into English. There is in this borrowing a ‘restriction of meaning’ (Rothwell’s term, see section 4.1.5.3).

6.2.1.5.5 ‘aver envie de’

But I do not believe this hypothesis. I will begin with the ‘OF’ (=CF) sources as Prins has suggested. The phrase ‘avoir envie de’ is not singled out in either of the entries in *Godefroy* Vol. III 316a or Vol. IX 495b (both sub *envie* s.f.). There is not specification on the issue of prepositions either. All of the senses listed in these entries are all ascribed to the noun itself. I fear what Prins meant by the ‘OF phrase’ having ‘two senses’ is simply an assumption based on the first two definitions listed in *Godefroy* IX 495b for *envie*⁸², which are not restricted to the phrase ‘avoir envie de’. If only he had turned to Tobler-Lommatzsch (all ten volumes of the previous edition finished in 1943), then he would find that under *envie* in *TL* Vol.5 713-5, ‘nach *de*’, the sense ascribed to *envie* was ‘LUST, VERLAUGEN, GELÜSTEN’.

I return to the system of Anglo-French. In *AND* under *envie*, the collocation ‘aver envie de’ is glossed as ‘to feel the NEED for’. The AF *envie* in this phrase can only be glossed as ‘NEED, desire’. If *envie* has to bear the meaning of ENVY, then the collocation in Anglo-French is ‘aver envie a’.⁸³ There is clearly a semantic difference between the two AF phrases. And this difference is associated with different

⁸² which are exactly ‘chagrin et haine (qu’on ressent du bonheur, des avantages d’autrui)’ and ‘grand désir’; the third definition is ‘a l’envi de’, whose *envi* is basically another lexeme. *Godefroy* includes this under ‘envie’ is because *envi* is homonymous with *envie* and the form ‘a l’envi de’ has been recorded on occasions to mean ‘a l’envi de’.

⁸³ Both attestations in *AND* dated the earliest in the twelfth century, definitely before the time of Translator A.

prepositions, namely *a* and *de*.

6.2.1.5.6 The choice: *envie* ENVY

To conclude then, we can now say with certainty that the association of semantic and prepositional differences was there in Anglo-French but not in Middle English⁸⁴. The sense that *envie* bore in either Anglo-French or Old French was ‘NEED, desire’ for the phrase ‘aver envie de’ while *envie* in its ME correspondent ‘haven envie of’ bore the sense of ‘ENVY, jealousy’. We can also conclude that even if ‘aver envie de’ has indeed any bearing on the ME ‘haven envie of’, it has not affected the semantics of *envie* in the ME phrase. So for Translator A –given that (a) the reproduction of *envie* for ENTHUSIASM within the structure ‘at such envie’ does not seem to be encouraged in the ME system; (b) a literal translation of the AF (line 103) ‘Il les surquert a tele envie’ was not an appealing choice given the constraints of the poetic context; and yet (c) the form of *envie* was appealing for the rhyme of ME line 161 –the choice of *envie* with another sense that would fit into the discourse of this stanza was encouraged. He then had to resort to the linguistic resources that were available to him. He took from AF *envie* ENTHUSIASM to another sense that was used in both AF and ME systems and settled on the sense ENVY, with which he attempted the reproduction within a syntactic structure, namely, ‘haven envie of’, that the ME system would allow for *envie* with the sense ENVY. This is a choice –that is made by the bilingual individual to resort to the linguistic resources of one after another in face of the constraints of the poetic context and the ME system within which he is placed to make the choice.

⁸⁴ according *OED*, *MED*, and even Prins himself –he has also remarked that whether followed by *to* or *of*, the sense *envie* bears is the same ‘ill-will, envy’. Putting aside the remark on Old French, I believe in his scholarship in Middle English.

6.2.2 Type II: lexical items other than reproductions of the plausible models

I fear that I have bored my readers with just one example. But I have hoped to exemplify with one single case the many problems that we may encounter if we take into account all the factors and constraints of the poetic and linguistic systems that we have examined. I will now leave Type I and examine the notion of choice from the other side of the coin: when the bilingual individual chooses *not* to reproduce a *plausible* model that he finds in the source text.

6.2.2.1 *Plausible* models

I say *plausible* models, because I wish to distinguish these from any ‘possible’ models. All words are after all ‘possible’ models for the borrower to borrow⁸⁵. It will however be absurd to say that every word used in the original text invokes in Translator A the desire to borrow. In say the translation for AF (line 25) ‘qui ala court Charlis estoyent’, I doubt if anyone would argue that it had ever crossed Translator A’s mind to borrow the AF preposition *a* and translate his line as ‘*a* court pai schuld abide’ (ME line 62; see Table 6.1 above).⁸⁶ There will not be any resistance if borrowing is not even motivated. We need cases in which the resistance against borrowing is invoked. There must be *plausible* models used in the original text.

6.2.2.2 Operational definition for *plausible* models

In actual practice, what are defined as ‘plausible’ models are:

⁸⁵ We have all learned our lesson from the numerous ‘exceptions in historical linguistics to those ‘HiHi’ and ‘LoLo’ lists which are claimed to be ‘(more) resistant against borrowing. See for instance McMahon, A. et al. (2005). Swadesh Sublists and the benefits of borrowing: an Andean case study. In *Transactions in the Philological Society* 103 (2): 147–170.

⁸⁶ How strong such resistance against borrowing will be heavily influenced by the cultural context in which a bilingual individual is placed. We have established in section 5.2.1.2 that for our Translator A and his contemporaries in general, even though borrowing was by no means ‘unnatural/abnormal’, it was not a mechanism to which they frequently resorted either. And yet in for instance medieval France in the sixteenth century, borrowing was seen as a means of linguistic ‘enrichment’. See for instance, Du Bellay, “La Defense et Illustration de la Langue françoise” (1549).

(1) any items in the AF text that were ever reproduced in Middle English, so that these items cannot be rejected as implausible to the ME system; and

(2) the syntactic structures in which these items occur are also used in the ME translation text, so that the possible influence of syntax (as in the case of *envie* (ME line 161 and AF line 103)) will not affect the plausibility of the items in question.

6.2.2.3 Examples

On the basis of this principle, I have found eight cases in which even though such a plausible model is used in the AF text, there is no corresponding reproduction. Instead, Translator A used either:

- (a) another French loan as in *meine* (ME line 140) and *maison* (AF line 88).
- (b) hybridism as in *saueliche* (ME line 186) for *hardiement* (AF line 149)
- (c) native synonyms as in *hold* (ME line 45) for *tient* (AF line 78), *shame* (ME line 163) for *honte* (AF line 102), *abide* (ME line 62) for *estoyent* (AF line 25), *wende* (ME line 175) for *retourner* (AF line 113), *steward* (ME line 154) for *seneschal* (ME line 101) and *answerd* (ME line 315) for *respound* (AF line 272)⁸⁷.

6.2.2.4 Resistance: rhyme and metre

The case in Type II(a) and the first four cases in Type II(c) can be easily explained in terms of rhyme since all of these words occur in the rhyme position:

‘To diſt al his **meine**’ (ME line 140); ‘Pat riche douke his feſt gan **hold**’ (ME line 45);

‘Euer he proued to don hem **ſchame**’ (ME line 163); ‘In court þai ſchuld **abide**’ (ME line 62); ‘War ded & he moſt hom **wende**’ (ME line 175). As to the cases of ME

⁸⁷ There are three cases that will not be further discussed: ME *abide*, ME *wende*, and ME *answerd*. The relevant extracts of ME *abide* has been reproduced in Table 6.1. I reproduce here for the other two the relevant lines in the AF text: ‘A sun pays **retourner**/Sun eritage viſiter’ (line 113-4) [To return to his country to inspect his inheritance. [my translation]]; and ‘E ſire Amys **respound** atant’ (line 273) [And Sir Amis replies thereupon. [my translation]].

steward and ME *answerd*, in Type II(c), they may be explained in terms of the scheme of iambic four-stress: ‘A chef **steward** of alle his lond’ (ME line 101; instead of AF *seneschaus*) and ‘Sir Amis **answerd** ‘mi treuþe y pliŠt’ (ME line 315; instead of a preterite of AF *respound*, ie, *respounded*).

But for the remaining case of ME *saueliche*, neither rhyme nor metre will make the choice of a hybrid or a native term more preferable to the reproduction of the plausible model: the reproduction of AF *hardiment* as ME *hardiliche* instead of ME *saueliche* in ‘**Saueliche** com or send þi sond’ (ME line 189). The fact that rhyme and metre cannot explain the resistance against borrowing (the plausible models) in this case clearly shows that there must be some other factors that motivate such resistance. I will therefore begin with the case of ME *saueliche* (ME line 189) in which we will see most clearly the effects of these possible factors and turn to the other cases in which they can be shown to have a role to play.

6.2.2.5 Type II (b) hybridism⁸⁸

Formally speaking, ME *saueliche* is a hybrid creation that is traditionally regarded as one form of interference (Haugen 1950: 66-7). And the traditional analysis will go: French influence interferes at a linguistic level deeper than a ‘simple transfer’ of loans, It is evidence for high(er) level of bilingualism, etc.⁸⁹

But now, we look at the extracts:

⁸⁸ Due to the incompleteness of *HTE*, I should now issue the cachet that I cannot be exhaustive with the analysis of synonyms from hereon.

⁸⁹ (see Weinreich 1953: 47-53; Romaine 1995: 55-9, 120-4)

Table 6.6

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
186	Ac Šif euer it bifalle so þat þou art in wer & wo ⁹⁰ & of min help hast nede Saueliche com or send þi sond & wiþ al mi powere of mi lond Y schal wreke þe of þat dede. ⁹¹	147-51	Mes si vus avez de mei afere Seit en pes ou en guere Mandez le mei hardiement E tant cum mei dure or ou argent Ne vus faudrai ne dotez mie. ⁹²

ME *saueliche* was chosen to translate AF *hardiement* –a translation of both the form of ‘adj + adv suffix’ and the ‘intention’ of the model. In terms of form, Translator A reanalysed the two elements of AF *hardie+ment*, substituted each of these elements with their syntactic equivalents in Middle English, namely, *saue+liche*, and replaced the root (adj) by another element that was not found in the model. This case of hybridism is certainly more complicated than the word in a traditional sense would suggest. We need to resort to the notion of choice again: why was ME *saueliche* chosen instead of a hybrid-reproduction of the AF model?

I begin with the ‘actual material’ again. I have glossed AF *hardiement* as ‘boldly’ in note 91. ME *saueliche* is better paraphrased as ‘without fears’. Although AF *hardiement* is stronger in tone, both of them cover the conceptual ground of ‘confidently’ (see the greyed and underlined senses in Table 6.7).

⁹⁰ One may argue that the choice of ME *wer* in the extracts above belongs to the ‘perfect’ reproduction of Type I here. And yet, it is clear that the model is AF ‘en pes ou en guere’ while the translation is ME ‘in wer & wo’. This case seems to be more appropriately categorised as a ‘paraphrase’ on the phrasal level than a choice on the lexical level. But of course, every lexical choice is subjected to syntactic constraints of the structure in which it is placed and the syntax may have effects over the semantics of a word. And yet for our purposes, I think it more appropriate to use cases which can be analysed on the lexical level. For this reason, I have excluded this case of ME *wer*.

⁹¹ In this case, since neither rhyme nor metre would affect the choice between ME *saueliche* and ME *hardiliche* and the AF model is not *saufement*, one may argue that the choice in the extract above belongs to Scribe A instead of Translator A. But ME *saueliche* (though spelled differently in the Harley and Egerton versions: *sauely*) is used in all four extant manuscripts in this line. For such coincidence, the choice belongs more than likely to Translator A. (cf Leach’s (1937) note on variant forms for line 238)

⁹² But if you have need of me, be it in peace or in war, send word to me boldly, and as long as [my] gold and silver [i.e. wealth] endures, you wouldn’t fear at all. [my translation]

Table 6.7

	ME	AF
<i>hardi</i> AF <i>hardi</i>	(1) strong in battle, fearless of danger; (2) resolute; (3) audacious, presumptuous,	(1) bold; confident; (2) hardened; (3) presumptuous
<i>hardiliche</i> AF <i>hardiment</i>	(1) bravely, courageously, boldly; (2) <u>with confidence, readily,</u> <u>quickly, easily;</u> (3) strongly, stoutly, vigorously	(1) boldly; (2) <u>confidently</u>
<i>saueliche</i> AF <i>saufement</i>	(1) safely, in safety; (2) securely; (3) <u>without fear of error or</u> <u>contradiction, certainly</u> <u>confidently;</u> (4) without fail, by all means	(1) safely, in safety; (2) safely, securely; (3) <u>fairly, without fear of</u> <u>contradiction;</u> (4) thoroughly; (5) resolutely
<i>sauf</i> AF <i>sauf</i>	(1) unscathed, unhurt, uninjured; free from danger; (2) well, whole; (3) saved, redeemed; (4) assured	(1) safe, unharmed; secure; (2) safe, untouched, intact; (3) saved; (4) reliable;

If we also turn to the plausible loan for AF *hardiment*, namely, ME *hardiliche*, we will see that it had extended to include some senses that are not recorded under AF *hardiment* in AND (‘STRONGLY, STOUTLY, VIGOROUSLY’). But the loan certainly covered the senses conveyed in the AF text (see underlined senses in Table 6.7 above). If we now look at all these four adverbs in both ME and AF systems, we will notice that between *saueliche* and *hardili*, *saufement* and *hardiment*, there is the same overlapping area of ‘with CONFIDENCE, readily, quickly, easily’.

So ME *hardili* and *saueliche* were synonyms for the sense CONFIDENTLY in the ME system, while AF *hardiment* and *saufement* were almost their counterparts in the AF system. Within their own systems, a synonymous relationship between the lexical

items of each pair is beyond question. And the fact that the presence of one lexical item may remind a writer of its synonyms is also quite established (Aitchison 1994: 84-90). And yet, what Translator A did in the extracts above was to reanalyse the two elements of the model, and rendered the AF *hardiement* into an ME item that was formally equivalent to and semantically synonymous with this model. This is once again evidence for the blurring of boundaries between two languages within one single mind (see section 6.2.1.4). But the blurring in this case involves interference in both the choice of the lexical item on semantic grounds *and* the morphological form it takes. It has little to do with the element of *saue* in ME *saueliche* as a traditional analysis would suggest. Rather, this blurring suggests that synonymy between the lexical items of two different languages is possible. And this synonymous relationship can serve as a factor encouraging the resistance against borrowing.

6.2.2.6 Type II (a) another French loan

I will now turn to the case of ME *meine* of Type II(a) to further explore the factor ‘synonymy’.

6.2.2.6.1 *meine* & *meson*

For this instance of ME *meine* (line 140), since Sir Amiloun in the ME version is the *chef steward in halle*, his *meine* refers to body of servants and officers responsible for the domestic affairs and feasts *in halle* of the duke (the master of Sir Amiloun).

Table 6.8

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
138-40	& sir Amiloun of hem alle He made chef steward in halle To diŠt al his meine .	87-90	E de sun frere sire Amilloun Fait seneschal de sa mesoun E marechaus de la sale sur touz Tant fu averti e prus ⁹³

But if we turn to AF *mesoun*, of the possible senses *AND* suggests, it is most appropriately glossed as the ‘royal HOUSEHOLD’⁹⁴ (see note 92 and Table 6.9)

Table 6.9

	ME	AF
meson AF <i>mesoun</i>	(1) household (2) house (3) hospital for <i>meson dieu</i>	(1) family, household; (2) Royal Household; (3) house, building, religious house, mansion; (4) room (5) <i>maisun dieu</i> : hospital; (6) <i>maisun foreine</i> : latrine, privy; (7) <i>a maisun</i> : (at) home; (8) <i>en maisun</i> : indoors; (9) <i>vers maisun</i> : home(wards)
meine AF <i>mesnee</i> [<i>mesoun+ee</i>]	(1) A household, household of servants and officers... (2) an accompanying group, retinue; a king’s subjects; (3) servants of God; disciples; (4) followers, a gang; (5) angels; also, devils. (6) A body of troops, an army; (7) a group, company, assembly (8) a heap of palm leaves; (9) a church. (10) A group of lineal; descendants of someone, a family; also, a clan; an immediate family group; a race, type. (11) Chessmen; ?also, pieces used in similar games.	(1) household; (2) household, retinue; (3)(pl.) retinue (4) followers; troop, band; (5) crew; (6) home; family; (7) set of chessmen;

⁹³ And his brother Sir Amilloun, [the king] makes him the steward of his household and the [chief] marshal of the [great] hall because he was sensible and valiant. [my translation]

⁹⁴ But if we take into consideration that fact that AF *mesnee* is itself derived from AF *mesoun* [*mesoun+ee*] cf (*Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (Robert for short hereafter) p1170 sub *maison*), we may say that the overlap between these two items may be greater than the senses recorded in *AND* would suggest –thus sense (2) of AF *mesnee* is also possible for the AF *mesoun* in line 88 above. So there is a second possible reading for the AF phrase, namely, the chief steward of the group of knights devoted to the king’s personal service.

The AF *seneschal* in the ‘seneschal de sa mesoun’ (line 88) is then the chief steward of the royal household.

But no doubt, the senses of AF *mesoun* and ME *meine* intended in both of the original and translation texts are very similar: HOUSEHOLD. Once again, a synonymy between the AF plausible model and the ME item is called into question. If we look for the ME synonyms for this sense, we will immediately find one in Table 6.9 above: ME *meson* –precisely the loan modelled after the AF *mesoun* here.

We look again at Table 6.9. If we look more closely at the ‘actual material’ of the two items in Middle English, we will first notice that ME *meine* covered a much wider semantic space than ME *meson*. But for AF *mesoun* and AF *mesnee*, there was a much greater overlap between these two items than their ME loans. If we then compare these two items in both Anglo-French and Middle English, we will see that even though ME *meson* had reproduced the two main senses of AF *mesoun*, it had only reproduced one of its collocations, namely *mason dieu*; while ME *meine* had not only reproduced most senses in AF *mesnee*, but had also extended to include the sense ‘a heap of palm leaves’ that was not covered in Anglo-French as well as the religious connotation associated with AF *mesoun*. The distinction between AF *mesoun* and *mesnee* became even more blurred when they entered into Middle English, with the result being that ME *meine* took over some of the senses of AF *mesoun* together with most of the senses of its AF model *mesnee*. Within the ME system, ME *meson* covered both HOUSE and HOUSEHOLD, while ME *meine* covered mainly ‘HOUSEHOLD, group’ and was used much more extensively.

6.2.2.6.2 Synonyms of *one* system

For Translator A, what must have happened is that he was presented with the intended effect of (royal) HOUSEHOLD in the AF text. And yet in spite of the stimulus

of AF *mesoun* for the reproduction of ME *meson*, he turned to the ME linguistic resources that were available to him, and chose *over* other synonyms such as ME *hushold* (perhaps due to the constraints of rhyme), the ME *meine* which covered more specifically the sense of ‘royal HOUSEHOLD’. Viewing from this perspective, we can even describe this translation as a process of looking for synonyms between two linguistic systems. Translator A could easily pass in this case and in that of section 6.2.2.5, from an AF item to an ME one as though they were synonyms of *one* system.

6.2.2.6.3 Resistance: synonymy

But that is not all there is to the complexities of this choice: ME *meine* is another French loan. Given the bilingual knowledge of Translator A, we can assume that he was aware of the French origins of this item, and so his use ME *meine* (line 140) was another instance of ‘secondary’ borrowing. But in this instance there was no ‘model’. There was a *stimulus*, which was another French loan that was also borrowed into Middle English.⁹⁵ The French influence this stimulus exerted over our translator did not lead to the reproduction of a plausible model, but a ‘reinforcement’ of another loan within the ME system instead (see section 4.1.5.2). Interference in this case and that of hybridism above can clearly work in a more ‘indirect’ and complex way than an analysis based purely on a (traditional) formal basis would suggest. It may encourage the choice of a loan or a hybrid over its synonyms: as in ME *meine* over ME *meson* and ME *saueliche* over ME *hardiliche*. When there is more than one item within the same lexical field that is borrowed into a linguistic system, borrowing does not only involve, in Vogt’s (1948)⁹⁶ words, ‘the reorganization of all the old

⁹⁵ The first attestation of this item in *MED* dated c1450. Although it was not an inherited loan to Translator A, he could initiate an ‘original’ borrowing. Some bilinguals must have done some original borrowing in Middle English. We cannot rule out the possibility that Translator A is one of them.

⁹⁶ Cited in Weinreich (1953: 4)

distinctive oppositions of the system.’ It can also provide an impetus of competition between these ‘oppositions’ which may discourage⁹⁷ the incorporation of a loan or hybrid into a system.

6.2.2.7 Type II (c) native synonyms

But competition is not the only thing that happens between semantically related items. They may collocate or co-occur⁹⁸, and in each instance strengthen their relationship. I will use my last subtype (c) to explore the role these lexical relations may play in the resistance against borrowing.

There are three such cases: ME *hold*, ME *schame* and ME *steward*.⁹⁹ I begin with *hold*.

6.2.2.7.1 *hold* & *tient*

In this case, a casual glance at the extract would suggest that any item other than ME *holden* is out of question:

Table 6.10

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
45	Ƞat riche douke his fest gan hold	78	[le roy] Grand honur lur feste tient ¹⁰⁰

The word is almost a ‘standard/most commonly used’ English equivalent for AF

⁹⁷ (or encourage as in the case of *felonie* in section 6.2.1.3 where ME *felonie* is used as a synonym to ME *gile* and ME *trecherie* in line 158)

⁹⁸ I am reusing the terminology in Aitchison (2004: 8-10). Collocations refer to words which often locate right next to each other, while co-occurrences refer to words which occur in the same neighbourhood. The latter mainly refer to near-synonyms (as in this case of *schame* and *grame*) and antonyms, whereas the former is used in a more traditional sense of the word. ‘Haven envie of’ above will then be considered as a typical example of this category. The distinction between these two terms is, however, much fuzzier than it is suggested here, of course.

⁹⁹ The matter of rhyme is already discussed in section 6.2.2.4. So I will focus on lexical relations here.

¹⁰⁰ [The king] holds their feast in great honour. [my translation]

*tenir*¹⁰¹. But if we turn to *MED*, under *feste* (sense 5), we will find that *maken* (*feste*) may serve as an option. Once we turn to the entry of *maken* (sense 10a) in *MED*, the more than fifteen quotations for the use of *maken* with the sense ‘ARRANGE, hold (festivities, etc); give, have (a feast, etc)’ will confirm that it was certainly an alternative for *hold* in this context. If we also turn to the collocations of *feste* in both AF and ME systems, then a fuller picture on the mechanism involved in the choice of *holden* will emerge:

Table 6.11

AF	Senses	ME	Senses
<i>faire (une, la) feste</i>	‘to celebrate a festival’	<i>maken (a feste)</i>	(<i>maken</i> sense 10a)
<i>faire feste a</i>	‘to honour, celebrate’	<i>maken feste</i>	(<i>feste</i> sense 5)
<i>faire feste de</i> ¹⁰²	‘to take delight in’	<i>maken feste</i>	(<i>feste</i> sense 4b)
<i>garder feste</i>	‘to honour a feast-day’	<i>holden/keepen/ maken feste</i>	(<i>feste</i> sense 1a)
<i>tenir feste</i> [AND under <i>feste</i>]	‘to hold a feast’	<i>maken/holden a feste</i>	(<i>holden</i> sense 15a (d) & <i>maken</i> sense 10a)

6.2.2.7.1.1 Collocation

I do not think the correspondence between *faire-maken*, *tenir-holden* and *garden-keepen* can be dismissed as coincidence. Though by no means distinctive as we can see that there are three senses recorded under one phrase *maken feste*, there is clearly (a) an association between *maken*, *holden* and *keepen* and *faire*, *tenir* and *garder*; and (b) a correspondence between the AF and ME collocations in terms of semantics. The choice of *holden* for *tenir* in this context is not only a rendition of a foreign word with a native equivalent, but also part of a system of collocation. And

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, the translations for the many collocations under *trover* and *tenir* listed in *AND*.

¹⁰² Once again, the association of two different senses with the prepositions *a* and *de* was there in Anglo-French but not in Middle English. But without more data, I refrain from pursuing the point further than a simple note.

collocation in this case does not only rule out *maken*, but also the reproduction of AF *tenir* as ME *teinen* (which was borrowed for precisely the sense HOLD; cf *MED* sub *teinen* v2). So in this case, the interference of *feste* is not limited to the lexical field into which it enters but also the lexical items with which it collocates. And this collocation can serve as another factor that encourages the resistance against borrowing.

6.2.2.7.2 *schame* & *honte*

The same may be said of the case of ME *schame*. If we look for a collocation in the extract below, we will find ‘(to) don (hem) schame’ (‘to DISHONOUR (them)’; *MED* sub *shame* sense1a) which closely renders the intended effect of the AF ‘les guayte hounte’: ‘(lies in wait) to SHAME them’¹⁰³:

Table 6.12

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
163-5	To þe douke wiþ wordes grame Euer he proued to don hem schame Wiþ wel gret felonie.	101-2	E li senechaus nomement Sur touz autres lesguayte hounte ¹⁰⁴

But ME *schame* was not only related to ME *don*. ME *schame* and *grame* often occurred as a rhyming couplet. Given the constraints of the poetic context, the co-occurrence of these two items had probably played a greater role in the resistance against the reproduction of AF *hounte* and the admittance of ME *hounte* into collocation of ‘(to) don (hem) schame’ in this instance.

¹⁰³ AF *hounte* is a noun. The verb *guayte* seems to take double objects here. An English translation that will give a close approximate of the ‘intention’ of the AF original cannot adequately reflect this syntactic feature. For this reason I have translated the phrase as ‘lies in wait to shame them’, but I wish to note that AF *hounte* is not a syntactic equivalent to ME *schame* here.

¹⁰⁴ And the steward namely, above all others lies in wait to shame them. [my translation]

6.2.2.7.3 *steward* & *seneschal*

I will now conclude the discussion with my last example: ME *steward*.

Table 6.13

lines	ME Auchinleck	lines	AF Karlsruhe
138-40	& sir Amiloun of hem alle He made chef steward in halle To diſt al his meine.	87-8	E de sun frere sire Amilloun Fait seneschal de sa mesoun E marechaus de la sale sur touz Tant fu averti e prus ¹⁰⁵

As Leach (1937: 191) has noted, *steward* should be interpreted together with *in halle*. If we turn to *MED*, we will find that this phrase is indeed a collocation, a title for the ‘principal officer in charge of the domestic affairs of a royal or imperial household, a seneschal’ (*MED* sub *steward* sense 1a). But if we turn to the AF text, although AF *seneschal* and AF *de la sale* are both used in the original, it does not read *seneschal de la sale*, but: *seneschal de sa mesoun e marechaus de la sale*. The latter may be rendered literally as ME ‘marshal of (/in) (the) hall’, but the reference they denote are not the same: the ME *halle* in this collocation and the one that involves ME *steward* refers unmistakably to the hall of banquets, ceremonies, etc; thus ME ‘marshal of (/in) (the) hall’ refers to ‘the official in a royal or noble household in charge of ceremonies, protocol, seating, service, etc’ (*MED* sub *marshal* sense 2); while the AF *sale* refers to the great hall, the most public place in a castle where the knights and clerks who would not have admittance to the *chambre* of the King gathered, and where they often slept and ate. So the AF *marechaus de la sale* is the officer that arranges for the billeting of these knights.

It is a matter of speculation as to whether Translator A avoided translating AF *marechaus de la sale* on purpose (say in order that Amis and Amiloun each would

¹⁰⁵ And his brother Sir Amilloun, [the king] makes him the steward of his household and the marshal of the [great] hall above all, because [he] was sensible and valiant. [my translation]

have only one position, instead of Amiloun having two) or he had simply misread the AF phrase with a ME sense and thus the duties associated with both AF titles could be grouped under ME *steward in halle*. But what Translator A must have chosen to do is to take an element from each of the titles and combine them into a phrase that did serve as a title of occupation in Middle English. He did not borrow only because it was plausible to do so. He resorted to the ME system for linguistic resources and weighed against many other factors such as rhyme & metre and collocation in this case, and morphological form, syntactic constraints and co-occurrence in the other cases of Type II. Even when he borrowed as he did in the cases of Type I, he did not or sometimes might not be able to make an exact copy of his model. The ME semantic system may ‘block’ the reproduction of certain ‘actual material’ (as in the case of ME *sir* in section 6.2.1.2) in the process of borrowing. These factors, at least for rhyme, metre and synonymy, may motivate him to borrow from the original text as well as discourage him from so doing¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Though I do not have any examples with which I can investigate the possibility that the other factors may play a role in motivating the translator to borrow from the original, I cannot think of any reasons to reject, at least for lexical relations, this possibility either. Lexical relations seem to me a fruitful starting point for further work.

Chapter VII CONCLUSION

7.1 French borrowing: lexical choice

Of course, all the factors that I have suggested apply specifically to lexical borrowing in the context of written translation. It is characterised by the availability of visible, contextualised models for the reproduction of loans. This characteristic spares us much unwanted speculation on the process of reproduction and at once leads us to a kind of lexical borrowing that is vastly different from that in spontaneous speech. How different they are, what role they play in lexical borrowing from the linguistic system's point of view, etc, are questions in which I believe students of French borrowing will find interest. And for our kind, even a historical study in Middle English will find primary evidence in the translation and source texts. Yet for now, I cannot even give a description to our kind with any more precision than: a *choice*.

7.2 Motivation and resistance

But I venture to think that French borrowing in Middle English translation may involve far greater complexities than many previous studies have suggested. Putting aside the factors of rhyme and metre which are specific to the poetic context, I cannot see any reason why the factors of semantic blocking, synonymy, collocation and co-occurrence cannot be applied to other translators and even prose translation –unless we want to say that all other ME translators were slavish or they were free from any constraints of the linguistic systems and contexts in their attempt of borrowing. If not, then we must agree that there are factors involved in the process of borrowing and at least some of them do not necessarily motivate a translator to borrow from either the source text or in general. And if we do regard lexical borrowing in written translation as a *choice*, we would then be able to study this

process through the lens serious scholars have devised for future work.¹⁰⁷

We need not feel discouraged at a subject, if only because there is a hundred years' scholarship ahead of us.

¹⁰⁷ All my factors are drawn from previous studies. I can give only the names that are of most immediate relevance here: on 'resistance', see Weinreich (1953: 61). (He had remarked that it had so far not received any explanation. And the situation does not seem to have changed in the past fifty years in the study of French borrowing in Middle English.) As for semantic blocking see Rothwell (1979, 80, 91, 93, 98a, 98b) and section 4.1.5, syntactic constraints and lexical relations see Rothwell (1993) again and Aitchison (1994, 2004), and on semantic relations in general see Kay (2005).

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